JEWISH SPY:

BEING A

PHILOSOPHICAL, HISTORICAL, and CRITICAL Correspondence,

By LETTERS

Which lately passed between certain JEWS in Turky, Italy, France, &c.

Translated from the ORIGINAL s into French

By the MARQUIS D'ARGENS;

And now done into ENGLISH.

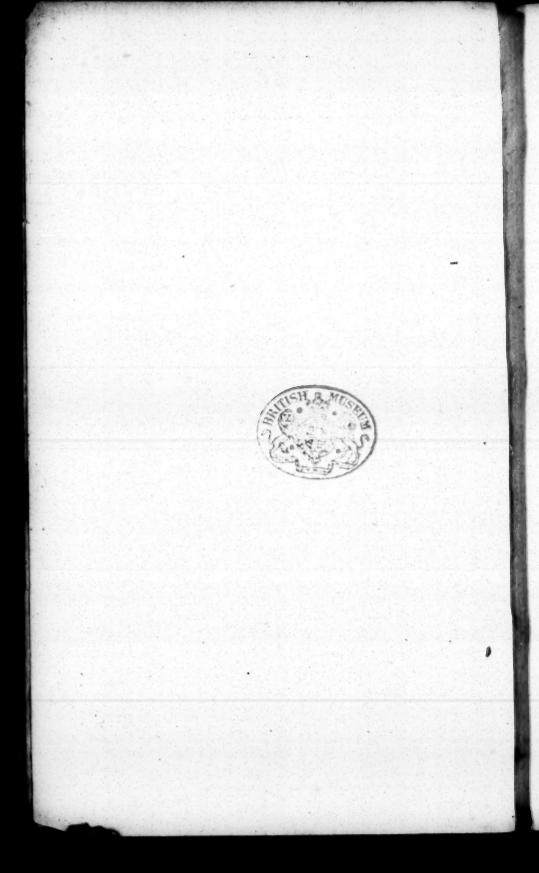
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VOL. V.

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MDCCLXV.





First DEDICATION *.

TO THE

Undisguised and Inimitable

SANCHO PANCA,

True Model of all worthy and faithful Esquires,

Governor of the Island of BARA-TARIA, &c. &c. &c.

LORD SANCHO,

FTER having dedicated a Volume of the LETTRES JUIVES to your illustrious Master, the Hero

* There are two Dedications and two Prefaces to this Volume, the Reason of which is, the Original is divided into fix Volumes, and the Translation only into five; by which Means the Dedications and Prefaces to the fifth and fixth Volumes of the Original have both been taken into this fifth and last Volume of the Translation, in order that nothing might be omitted in the English Edition.] Remark by the Translator.

A 2

of la Mancha, I should fail in my Duty to you, if I did not offer you this. You deferve little less Regard than the mighty Don Quixot; and the Character in which you appear, makes almost as conspicuous a Figure in the Work of your faithful Historian, the ingenicus Cervantes. Accept therefore of this small Present; and permit me, as a convincing Proof of the Esteem I have for you, to tell you a Piece of News which must

infallibly surprise you.

Not only your Employment, but likewife your Character, have been daringly usurped of late, so that you now find yourself a Duplicate; and as heretofore there were two Amphytrios and two Sofias, there are actually new two Don Quixots and two Sancho Pancas. And, indeed, in like Manner as a certain ridiculous Creature has taken it into his Head to make Use of the Name, the Profession, and Titles of your illustrious Master: So another odd Creature (altogether as comical) bas pretended to be Master of all your Talents; and to place bimself, in Quality of Esquire, near the Person of this Don Quixot in Literature. He is the bireling Copyist, and the indefatigable Compiler of his pretended Discoveries: And you was

not more assiduous in carrying the Wallet, the Bottle filled with Firebras's Balfam, and Mambrino's Helmet, than he is in tranferibing his Mafter's raft, bafty Refearches, and putting them in their proper Places. In fine, be resembles you perfectly, both in Genius and Person. Like you be is short, thick, and tun-bellied; be bas a dull, fullen Air; and his Speech is as coarfe as yours. His arch Tricks, bis Lyes, and bis Mifrepresentations are worthy of the Sneers of the Inns, and the Stones of the Yangees; and may one Day or other expose his Posteriors to the just Punishment of Kickage.

Like you, be is vaftly desirous of procuring some Government. He had one in his Eye in an Island of the North; and he flattered himself that he should go thither and pronounce Decrees as sagacious as those you passed heretofore in the Isle of Barataria: But his Hopes were as short-lived as

your Government.

You fee, LORD SANCHO, that it is impossible for a Man to resemble you more. I therefore should be obliged to you, if, for your. own Sake and for that of many People, you would not permit your Genius and Person to be usurped in this Manner. You make an excel-

excellent Figure in a Book: Your malicious Simplicity and your grotesque Impertinences set People a laughing; but, the Instant you exist in Skin and Bones, in the
Republic of Letters, you must necessarily be
prejudicial to it, by dishonouring the Name
of a Scholar, which suits you no more than
it does your Ass. Permit not therefore another Person, by assuming your Shape, to do
the same Injury to polite Literature. Enter
the Lists against him, and oblige him to
give up a Prosession which no Way suits
him, and in which he ought to be looked upon
as no better than an Alien and an Intruder.

Till I have the Pleasure of seeing you combat with your Original, do you continue to murder the Spanish Tongue, and he the French; and believe me to be, with very great Sincerity and Esteem,

INIMITABLE SANCHO,

Your most humble and

most obedient Servant,



PREFACE.

Had formed a Resolution to give no farther An-swer to the Reproaches of these fwer to the Reproaches of those who envy this Work, the favourable Reception it meets with in the World making me fufficient Amends for their impotent Invectives. Nevertheless, the very Approbation of the Public forces me to expose their Difingenuity; being convinced that all their Attempts to prejudice the Reputation of the LETTRES JUIVES would be ineffectual, they have endeavoured to spit their Venom at the Translator; and with this View, there is no Slander but they are continually inventing. I am fensible, that the Way to filence them would be to put a Stop to the Impression of this Work; and I confess I would have indulged them in that Satisfaction, had it depended intirely on my Will. It is not to me that they ought to impute the Continuance of a Book which gives them fo much Difgust, but to certain Causes which determined me, in spite of myself. The Approbation of three different Nations, who thought so favourably of it as to make it their own by giving it the Dreis of their respective Languages, and the fine Compliments paid me by feveral of the first Class in Learning, made me go on whether I would or no. I co fess that the Pleasure of seeing myself applauded by illustrious Men got the better of the Uneafiness I felt, at my being peffered by the impertinent Clamours of a Parcel of ignorant Wretches, Monks and pitiful Scribblers. A 4 I con-

I consulted, not long fince, one of the greatest Genius's in Europe, one whom I may venture to call Apollo's Favourite. Tell me frankly, faid I, in what Manner I ought to behave? The Answer he wrote to me was as follows: " Do the LETTRES JUIVES. " please me? Dear Aaron, have not I told you so "thirty Times? Go on: I conjure you to do it, in the Name of all the Philosophers, of all think-" ing Men; in the Name, in short, of the whole " human Race. It is doing a confiderable Service " to Mankind in general to give them fuch whole-

" fome Advice."

I am but too well acquainted with my own Inabilities to be captivated by a Compliment fo much beyond my Defert, and therefore ascribe it wholly to Friendship, and not at all to the Merit of my Writings. The Value put upon them by a learned Man of the highest Reputation, whom I know no otherwise than by the just Fame he has acquired, is indeed enough to flatter me. He thought the LETTRES JUIVES not altogether unworthy of his Perusal: And was so complaisant as to honour them with his Approbation, even from the Center of Germany *. I have met too with some illustrious Englishmen, who had the same Complaisance for me as those of France and Berlin. Was it possible for me to withstand such tempting Applause? Let those who are out of Humour at the Success of my Works, put themselves in my Place; let them divest themfelves for a Moment of their Prejudices, and then declare how I ought to have acted.

By the Way, I am not displeased that the Jesuits should condemn the LETTRES JUIVES. Was I

^{*} Defence of the Critical History of Manichée and Manicheism, by Mr. de Beausobre, inserted in Toms XXXVII. of the Bibliotheque Germanique, p. 12.

in their Place, I would do the very fame, but with this Difference, that I should not, at the same Time, have a Thought of worrying the Reputation of the Translator. If they peruse the Book which they inveigh fo much against, they will not find one odious Personality in it. If their Society is cenfured, some of their Members are applauded. Father Girard himself is tenderly used in it; tenderly used, do I say? He is declared, in some Measure, innocent. They therefore have the Liberty to blame my Book. It would be abfurd to expect that a Perfon should praise a Composition in which his Opinions are condemned: But then it is not acting the Part of a Christian, nor a Philosopher, for a Man to revile his Neighbour, and not to take Revenge for an Author's Works, on the Author himself. I am very much displeased, for Instance, at those Persons who charge me with a Libertinism which exists only in the Imagination of my Accusers. I never had any other View than to censure Vice, and create a Love for Virtue; and I believe I have always shewn a most fincere Respect for what is truly commendable. Indeed I give no Quarter to Knaves and Hypocrites: But I declare that this is what all Men of Honour ought to do every-where, without Mercy, in order thereby to clear all Societies of Knaves who reflect a Dishonour on them, both by the Depravity of their Manners, and the Absurdity of their Doctrine. If they call this Sneering at the Christian Religion in general, they act very unfairly; and, if this be the Deism with which I am charged, I declare it to be infinitely better than the pretended Religion of my Cenfurers, whose loose and corrupt Maxims are but too generally authorifed.

The Jansenists have less Reason than the Jesuits to rail against me, if, by Jansenists, we mean the true Disciples that Rill remain of the Arnaulds and

the Paschals. But the Number of these is so very inconfiderable, that we scarce can find one among ten thousand Knaves and Fools, some of whom pretend to believe in the Miracles of Abbot Paris: whilst others are so weak as to look upon them as celestial Prodigies, the Reality of which cannot be The Approbation of fuch Persons is as prejudicial as the Effeem of the Learned, the Wife, the Virtuous, is profitable and honourable. For this Reason I intreat them to continue their Invectives against my Works; and, in Return for this Service, I promise to maintain for ever, that the Jesuits are as crafty, as politic, and as ambitious as the Janfenists are senseless, ridiculous Fools. I also give them Leave to throw out as many Slanders against me, as they daily invent against the Bishops, and even against the Pope. Ought I not indeed to congratulate myfelf for their condescending to rank me with Persons in such distinguished and exalted Stations?

As to those underling Writers, those vile Insects of Parnassus, I promise not to regard any more their Croaking. Their impotent Cries will only divert me: And the Stories they give out will please me as much as that did which I will now inform my Readers of. Some Months fince, a learned Man. who honours me with his Friendship, and, I will presume to say, with his Esteem, came into Holland, and there made some Stay. The Gentleman I speak of is a Hero in Literature, and Master of all the Sciences. He is the Rival of Virgil, an illustrious Disciple of Newton, and a famous Historian. The Learned at Amsterdam were charmed with his Acquaintance. In an Entertainment which was made out of Respect to him, and at which were several learned Men of all Kinds, the LETTRES JUIVES were mentioned. My Friend thought it proper not

to let the Company know that he was acquainted with the Translator. The Circumstance that fixed him in this Resolution was to find them so much applauded; and that those who were qualified to judge of their Merit, discovered more Indulgence than Severity. But a certain whiffling Corrector of the Press, probably envying their Success, was stung to the Quick, to hear them fo much commended. However, he did not venture to find Fault with the Letters; but he took his Revenge on the Author. It is no Wonder, fays he, that the Writer should be fo well acquainted with the Manners and Religion of the Turks: For in a Voyage be made to Constantinople he put on the Turban. My Friend, furprised at what he heard, did not care to undertake my Defence openly. After pretending not to be acquainted with me, he was afraid that, should he espouse my Interest with too much Warmth, the Secret would be unravelled. He therefore contented himfelf with observing, that there did not seem to be much Ground for fuch an Accusation. But all he could say was not able to fave my Foreskin; the Proof-stainer was. resolutely bent to circumcife me; and doubtless I should have been taken for a Mahometan by all the Company, had not two Persons, who also were acquainted with me, offered to undergo the fame Operation, in case it was true that I had submitted to it. We know, faid they, the Author you fpeak of. You possibly may not know his Name; and therefore, why would you rank bim among the Circumcifed? The Company found it a very difficult Matter for them to make this obstinate, ignorant Creature change his Opinion; and it was not till after the Matter had been disputed a whole Hour that he owned it was not probable I had been circumcifed: And all that he could fay at last was, that it was told him as a Fact.

My Friend, overjoyed to find me uncircumcifed, could not refift the strong Defire he had to inform me of this merry Story. Though I was at a confiderable Distance from Holland, he laid aside his own Business, set out from Amsterdam, and came and told me, fmiling, that I must prepare to justify myself against a very heavy Charge. What is the Matter, fays I? Has any Body accused me of declaring that there is as much Virtue in Abbot-Paris's Slipper as in the Pope's? No, replied he, it is something much worse: It is affirmed that you are circumcised. Circumcifed, fays 1? Yes, circumcifed, faid my Friend: You are concerned to justify yourself. It is a cruel, replied I, and a very artful Accusation. And indeed it will be impossible for me to clear myself; for the Pieces. necessary to prove my Innocence are as little fit to be shown as those of the Woman afflicted with the bloody Flux who made so much Noise among the fansenists. And I myself, who have so often laughed at that pretended Miracle, now find that it will be as difficult for me to vindicate myself, as it was for her. Make yourfelf easy, faid my Friend, you are more afraid than burt. We have fully reinstated you in your former Reputation; though, in Fast, it would have been no Harm, had the Translator of the LETTRES JUIVES been really circumcifed, or at least been thought fo.

After such a Slander as this, I believe I have a Right to intreat those who have been pleased to approve my Book to be so good as to put the following Questions to any Persons that they hear talk to my Disadvantage: Tell me, pray Sir, whether you are no Ways related to the Sect of Ignatius? Has the Jesuitical Zeal any Influence over your Words? The Translator of the LETTRES JUIVES has declared, that whatever you say concerning his Person ought to be suspected. If you are of the Party opposite to that of

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the fefuits, and are a Follower of Able Paris, or a Dancer and Caperer belonging to St. Medard's Theatre, your Tales are that Sort of Scandal which ought absolutely not to obtain the least Credit. If you are mere Stainer of Paper, if you work for the Cheefemongers and Grocers, your Business is to revile ana run down all Authors who have the least Reputation. I believe it will be necessary to ask those Questions, in order to preferve me in the Esteem of those who, not knowing me, might be prejudiced against my Character and against my Morals. With regard to my Works, I am willing to leave them to their own Judgment, or that of the truly Learned, to whole Tafte I shall always submit with infinite Respect. Should they ever be condemned by the La Croffes. the Beaufobres, Voltaires, Montesquieus, Fontenelles, Popes, Gordons, &c. I shall look upon their Decifions as fovereign Decrees, and not examine what may have fuggefted them; being certain that Superstition, Hatred, or Jealoufy, would have no Share in it.

Some of my Critics have imagined they were wife enough to form a Judgment of my Book, merely from the Title of it; and one of them gave the magisterial Decision following: It is plain, from the bare Title, fays he, that it is an Imitation of the Perfian Letters, or of the Turkish Spy. In my Opinion, that Author mistakes his own Interest, who attempts to imitate Works which are looked upon as perfeet in their Kind; for it is a thoufand to one but he miscarry. My Readers will easily perceive the Falfity of this Criticism. I believe that no Book can be more unlike than mine is to those which it is faid to imitate. It was never my Delign to write indirect Panegyrics, visibly calculated in order to obtain Pay and Rewards, fuch as those are which are frequently proflituted in the pretended Turkish Spy; and

and I never intended to draw only ingenious Pictures of the perpetual Misdemeanors of Mankind, as are those of the pretended Persuan Letters. My sole Aim, I again declare it, has been to condemn Vice; to create a Love for Virtue; to destroy Superstition, if possible; and to inspire a Love for the Sciences; a Veneration for great Men; an Abhorrence for Knaves and Impostors; and a Respect for Princes and Magistrates. So far therefore from considering myself as having copied any other Author, it is my Opinion that I have opened a new Field for Imitation; and I do not doubt but that some bad Copies of my Work will soon be published.





Second DEDICATION of VOL. V.

TO

Master NICHOLAS,

BARBER to the illustrious

Don Quixot de la Mancha.

Mafter NICHOLAS,

Cannot express the Pleasure I take in this Opportunity to dedicate a Volume of the Lettres Juives to you. You make so conspicuous a Figure in the inimitable Romance of Michael de Cervantes, that, after having assured your illustrious Friends, Don Quixot and Sancho Panca, of my Attachment and Respect for them, I could not excuse myself from giving you the same Testimonies of my Esteem and Friendship. I had so long waited for a fair Opportunity of doing this, that I almost despaired of it.

it, when a certain Quack Doctor lately came (as good Luck would have it) and offered me one; and I instantly observed so wonderful a Resemblance between you, that it was a true Pleasure to me to let you know it.

For your Part, you was but a poor, aukward, Country Barber at best; and he was but one of those unhappy Quacks, who, by their little Packets of Powder, and their Vials of Essence, are

just able to keep Life and Soul together.

You afterwards raised yourself to the Rank of a Frater, though God knows one that is ignorant enough: And he made himself one of those itinerant Assassins, whom the angry Fates permit to live as the Scourges of Mankind; and who, by the Aid of some wretched Certificates and Patents, impose on the Credulity of Fools; and murder with Impunity most of those who are so stupid as to put themselves into their Hands.

Your Balsam of Sir Firebras used to make your Friend Sancho puke most grievously; and the Medicines of your worthy Imitator seldom fail to make most of the Patients, whom he either forces, or who are so silly as to put themselves into his Hands, to give up the Ghost.

Weary of shaving the Beards of Clowns, and of applying Plaisters every now and then to their Sores, you gave yourself up boldly to the noble Fury of scowring the Country; and having courageously undertaken to judge of the Grievances, and redress Injuries, it proved so fatal to you, that you was selled to the Ground in the very first Onset:

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Onset: And your faithful Imitator the Mountebank, quite tired with killing People, or rather disgusted to find no more that would be dispatched after bis Manner, took it into bis Head to fet up for an Author; but he was such a Sinner that be was as unsuccessful in that Province as you in your Knight Errantry. He is daily banged and buffeted; so that, in all Probability, the poor Fellow will foon be like you in every Respect. Weary to see himself kicked and cuffed about, he will quit the Republic of Letters, and mount the Stage again: And, if this does not answer, he will turn Smell-feast; fneak into some good Kitchen, and there take up his Quarters, where it will be as difficult, at least, to dislodge kim, as it was formerly to get Sancho Panca cut of the Kitch.n of the wealthy Gamache. I am,

Mifter NICHOLAS,

Your most humble and

most obedient Servant,



PREFACE.

By the SAME.

N the Conclusion of my last Preface I really prophesied, that fome bad Gopies of my Work would soon appear: Accordingly there are no less than two come out at one Time, but that I may not tire my Readers to no Purpose, I shall say

but a Word or two of each.

I. The first is intitled, Anecdotes Historical, Gay, and Literary; a Title engaging and curious enough indeed, but that is all; for it is nothing more than a wretched Collection of thread-bare Stories, ridiculous and imaginary Adventures, and of Personalities frequently as false as they are scandalous: The whole written in such a pitiful Manner, that, among other Expressions, People are said to have their Clothes brushed, in order to appear at Court *: And I should have been far from making the least Mention of so contemptible a Piece, if some Readers of little Judgment, and a most depraved Taste, had not disgraced me fo much as to ascribe it to me; and, if unluckily for me, a Compliment of my Letters had not been tacked to it, which is calculated much rather to difparage than to do me Honour.

II. The second is intitled, A Correspondence historical, philosophical, and critical, between Aristus,

* Anecdotes, Tom. I. Page 154.

Lyfander,

Lyfander, and some other Friends, by Way of Answer to the Jewish Letters; written, as they say, by a Club of hungry, mercenary Scribblers, who are kept in Pay for that Purpose by a certain Bookseller at the Hague. Be this as it will, it is a periodical Work like mine *; and, as if the Authors did not know where to search for Materials to fill it, they fasten every Post, upon two or three Subjects of one of my Letters; and paraphrase them almost as judiciously as the Interpreters of Aristotle, or the Commentators on the Revelations. This I will prove by two or three remarkable Examples, without putting myself to the Trouble of sollowing those Gentlemen farther in their wild Criticisms, and tiring the Readers by needless Repetitions.

I. They appear fuch mere Novices in the effablished Customs, that they ascribe to me, as a real Crime, what is but a mere Jest, and received in general by every Person who understands any thing of Diction; and that they exclaim against my endeavouring vainly to reflect a Dishonour on the Civilians, by calling them debonnaire Husbands +. Can any Argument be fo filly as this! Is it dishonouring Cujas, Bartholus, du Moulin, to affert that the Rights and Privileges which are allowed to Women who separate themselves from their Husbands, are too great and too extensive? If I have reflected a Dishonour on the Civilians, in calling them debonnairé Husbands, the illustrious Boileau has consequently reflected on all the Men in Paris; for I find. in his Xth Satyr, the fame Thought expressed in infinitely stronger Terms than mine:

^{*} Note, the Lettres Juives were first published in Holland in some loose Papers Wockly, like our Tatlers, Speciators, &c.

[†] Correspondence I.

" Hast thou forgot, that her Consent's requir'd?

"And canst thou think she easily will quit The dear Pleasure of persecuting thee.

"Her Lawyer, wielding soon, for her, his Pen, Will show thee a whole Volume of her Claims.

"For, BY THE LAWS RECEIV'D BY THE Parifians,

"MEN OF KIND NATURES, AND GOOD CHRISTIAN HUSBANDS,

" A Wife's Pretensions are unlimited."

Boileau must consequently be more guilty than I. It is really a Pity that the Cottins and the Pradons, in their Critiques on the Compositions of that great Poet, did not get the Start, in this Respect, of Mr. Nicholas and his Collegues, and furnish them with

fo judicious and fenfible a Remark.

The fecond Thing which these judicious Cenfors reproach me with is my calling the Chriftians by the Name of Nazarenes. He gives us, say they, this Title, imagining that it stings us to the Quick. But, as Jesus Christ assumed it, we cannot but think it an Honour to us *. What fine Reasoning have we here! I really should be tempted to believe, that the Persons in Question have never read any Book but the Christian Pedagogue, or Paradise opened to Philagius. Were they ever so little acquainted with Books, they would know that, in all Works writ, or supposed to be writ, by the Levantine Authors, the Christians are commonly called Nazarenes. Among ten thousand Examples I could quote, I shall content myself with that which I find in the Spy at the Court of Christian Princes. It may ferve as a good Lesson to Mr. Nicholas and his Brethren. I do not love Libels, says the pretended Maffulman *, nor do I care to fpeak irreverently of crowned Heads; but the NAZARENES are fo Autid, that they force me to fay what I do : I never faw fuch Fools in my Life. Let the Critics reflect on this Passage, in order that, if they ever read a Book in which the Word Nazarene occurs, they may not make themselves ridiculous, by throwing out such monkish, pedantic Reflections. I also will inform them, that the Name of Nazarene, fo far from being considered as a Term of Reproach in the Levant, is, on the contrary, there thought to be more noble than that of Christian; and that, in all the Treaties made between the Porte and France, the King has the Title of Chief of the Sovereign Kings of the Nazarene Faith. Will Mafter Nicholas and his Collegues fay, that the Ottoman Court means to affront France by using such an Expression? If they did but talk so impertinently, I do not doubt but there would immediately flart up fome filly Capuchin. who would fancy he returned a very witty Answer, in faying, that, as Christ went by the Name of Nazarene, the French cannot but think it an Honour.

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III. I know not whether a Fondness for the Enthusiasm of Mary Alacoque prompted my Critics to interest themselves in her Favour; but observe how falsely and ridiculously they endeavour to defend her Historian. The Author of the Mystical Life of Mary Alacoque has committed a Fault altogether unworthy of her and her Charaster. He has owned it. So much Humility is seldom found in a Prelate. He will never get a Cardinal's Cap. Will not this be Punishment sufficient? He would have been to blame, if he had boasted his being the Author of such a Book. If he thought it rather an Honour, what Occasion was there to seize all the Copies of it, as was done, in order

[.] Tome II. Letter xc. Page 300.

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that not one might be feen in Public? No Body that peruses this Passage but would fairly conclude, that the Archbishop of Sens himself endeavoured to suppress his own Book. However, this is such a Falsity as deferves no other Confutation than good Father Valerian's Mentiris impudentissime; and has no better Authority than the Critique Censure passed upon me five or fix Lines after, viz. of my examining Matters superficially; and my insisting on the Folly of one Prelate, in order to condemn others. This fecond Lye is still more impudent than the former, since in all this Passage no more Mention is made of the Prelates, than of the Imams of Mecca. The Reader may eafily see the Truth of this; and I will venture to take a dreadful Oath on this Occasion, viz. that if I impose upon him in it, I will give him Leave to suppose me to be as great a Lyar, and as filly a Writer, as my Critics.

IV. They exclaim against me for saying that the French are not allowed to write on great Subjects; but that a Metaphysician must suit his Philosophy to the Politics of the Stute, and the Chimeras of the Friars.

"A Philosopher, reply my Censurers, cannot suit his Philosophy to the Maxims of the State, till

" he has first accommodated it to Reason. In sol-

" lowing its Principles, we shall never write any

"Thing that may cause it to be excommunicated; or punished by the secular Arm." I will immediately prove my pretended Critics to be not only the most ignorant, but even the most impudent of Mankind. I would ask them whether Galileo was a great Man, in following the Principles of Reason? I am sure they dare not deny this. Nevertheless, what was his Fate? No Person is ignorant, unless perhaps my Critics, that, when he was very ancient, he was thrown into the Inquisition, and there confined a very long Time, and all this for having demonstrated

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monstrated a Truth which is now allowed universally. Did not the Parliament of Paris, in 1624, banish three learned Men for ever from its Jurisdiction, for prefuming to maintain some Positions contrary to the Opinions of Aristotle? And even in the Reign of Lewis XIV. that Reign fo much cried up for its great Learning, did not that same Parliament, on the Remonstrances of the Sorbonne, publish a Decree, purporting, That no Person could inveigh against the Principles of Aristotle's Philosophy without inveighing. at the same Time, against those of the Dostrine of the Church? Is not this rendering Persons liable to be excommunicated, and punished by the secular Arm? Had my Critics given themselves the Trouble to peruse these Passages in a Letter of this Volume *, they possibly would not have advanced this trifling, ridiculous Maxim, viz. that in following the Principles of true Metaphysics, we shall never write any Thing that may subject us to be excommunicated, or punished by the fecular Arm. But without going far for Examples, they had one before their Eyes, in that very Tew's Letter which they pretended to criticise. even do not doubt but that they were fenfible how much it made against them; that they omitted it purposely; and that they thereby are equally as guilty of Knavery as of Ignorance. Here follows the Example I mean, which is decifive in the prefent Point in Question: "That famous Des Cartes. " whose Philosophy thou hast read with so much "Pleasure, was forced to retire far into the North. " whither he was nevertheless pursued by Monkish " Ignorance and Hatred; and though he is dead, " they attack him daily." How came it that my Censurers did not take Notice of this Particular? To this Example of Des Cartes let us add those of

^{*} Letter CLXXII.

all the great Philosophers to whom France has given Birth. How violently was Gallendi persecuted? Could the Clergy have had their Wills, they would have burnt him twenty Times over; for his Differtations against Aristotle raised the whole theological Posse against him. Bernier, the Disciple of that great Man, was treated as an Heretic; and it cost him a deal of Pains before he could clear himself with regard to the Charge brought against him. Locke was not perfecuted personally in France, the Reason of which is natural, he lived in London: But were not almost all his Works severely prohibited throughout the Kingdom of France, and are they not fo still? Would a Bookseller dare to offer to Perusal his Esay on Human Understanding, an admirable Work, of which probably my Critics know nothing more than the Title and Cover? Such being the Treatment which Philosophy meets with in France, I consequently had Reason to affert, that the French are not allowed to write on great Subjects; but that a Metaphysician must suit his Philosophy to the Politics of the State, and the Chimeras of the Friars.

I shall not carry my Reflections farther, they being sufficient, not only to shew the Injustice and Knavery of my pretended Critics, but even to justify me in the Opinion of all Men of Learning and Candor; which was the sole Motive of my writing

this Preface.



THE

JEWISH SPY.

LETTER CLXI.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

T is now a Week, my dear Monceca, fince my Arrival in Africa. I had a very propitious Voyage from Liston to Algiers; and the Winds, after detaining me some Time in Portugal, at

last indulged my Desire.

This City is built in the Form of an Amphitheatre, and stands at the Foot of a Mountain. The Prospect of it from the Sea is pleasing; but no sooner is the Spectator come on Shore, but he forms a very different Idea of the Place. Most of the Houses are low and of a very unpleasing Structure; and the Streets are very narrow and dirty. Algiers, if not fo large, would appear just like the poor Villages in the Road from Turin to Lyons. I do not know on what Authority Moreri relies, when he tells us that there are magnificent Palaces in this City. The finest Houses there are infinitely less splendid than the most indifferent Houses in Europe. To figure to yourself a just Idea of the Dey's Palace, you must suppose Vol. V.

four or five large Taverns, half tottering, all thrown into one. The Pier is the only Edifice worthy of our Curiofity. At the End of it a noble Tower is built, which ferves as a Light-house. It is of a confiderable Height, and well fortified with Cannon: the Turks having improved the Fortifications of it fince the last Bombardment. The Algerines flatter themselves that this Tower will secure them from any future Infult of the like Nature; because Ships cannot now advance near enough to the City, to bombard it, without running the Hazard of being funk by the Batteries on the Pier. But the Europeans who are here declare, that the Algerines build upon very fantastic Hopes; and that their new Works could have no other Effect, than to render a Bombardment not quite fo easy an Attempt as before.

The People who bear Sway in Algiers are not the Africans, who, on the contrary, are extremely submissive to, and properly the Slaves of the European Turks. The old Inhabitants of the Country are under a most cruel Government; and there is a wide Difference between the Algerines called Moors, and those called Turks. Perhaps thou mayest not be displeased if I inform thee of the Cause of this Distinction (as it was told me) made between People born in the same Country, and professing the same Religion.

When Africa was intirely Mahommedan, those who are called Moors, and who were then the sole Inhabitants of it, at the same Time that they changed their Religion, enjoyed the supreme Command in their own Country; and, so far from being subject to Foreigners, they atchieved mighty Conquests in Europe, and even invaded the greatest Part of Spain. A long Series of Years after these Conquests, several Turks of the Levant came and

fettled

fettled on the Coast of Barbary, where they met with the most favourable Reception. As the Moors, by their croffing into Spain, had greatly diminished the Number of their Forces; the Inhabitants were vastly glad to compensate for this Loss by the Arrival of these new ones. Their Numbers increased by insensible Degrees; when at last, finding themfelves strong enough to seize upon the Government, they made an Insurrection, possessed themselves of all the Authority, appointed a King or Dey of their own Nation, and left the ancient Africans no more than an empty Shadow of Liberty. They added Contempt to their Severity, and enacted a Law, by which it is enjoined, that any Moor, who prefumes so much as to threaten a Turk, shall have his Hand cut off, and be put to Death. The Turks in the Levant think it a Dishonour to marry into a Moorish Family; and it may be affirmed, that they shew as much Aversion to them, as the Nazarenes do to our Nation.

When the Africans were totally drove out of Spain, and obliged to return to their native Country, they befought the Turks, who were now possessed of it, to suffer them to make it their Afylum. This being granted, they submitted to the same Conditions with their Countrymen who had been fubdued; and thought themselves happy in being able to be indulged a fecure Retreat, though the Terms upon which it was granted were very severe. The Turks have preserved all their Authority since this Change; they being possessed of all the principal Employments in the State, and absolute Masters of the Government. As the Moors are much more numerous than those, they very frequently fend for a great Number of Families from the Levant. to supply the Place of such Turkish ones as were just before extinct; fo that the ancient Inhabitants of B 2

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of the City.

the Country cannot entertain the least Hopes of ever being able to recover their former Prerogatives. One would even conclude that they had lost all the Remembrance of it; and that they are now intirely habituated to their State of Slavery. Besides, they are Masters of so little Courage, that they would never presume to employ Force, to recover their Liberty. An hundred Turks would beat two thousand Moors, and attack them at once with the utmost Intrepidity. Thus, as the Turks are so strongly persuaded of the Cowardice of the Moors, and the Moors of the prodigious Valour of the Turks, these govern the others with the greatest Ease, and enjoy a despotic Sway!

Though all the Kingdom of Algiers, whether Turks or Moors, call themselves Subjects to the Grand Signior, we nevertheless may consider this State as a free Republic, whose Government resides wholly within itself. The Turks elect their Dey; and, how strongly soever he may be protected by the Grand Signior, they yet will dethrone him; and even strangle him, whenever they are inclined to, or imagine they have a just Cause for it. The Dey does not enjoy intirely a supreme Power, but is obliged, in such Matters as are essential to the Government, to act in Conformity to the Decisions of the Divan, which transacts the principal Affairs. This Council is composed of the chief Inhabitants

The Dey's Power is not limited with Regard to particular Persons. He may, without having Recourse to Forms of Law, behead the first Men of the Kingdom. Some of these Deys are exceedingly free in the Use of this Power; especially if they are apprehensive of a Sedition, or want to possess the Wealth of some Grandee. But, notwithstanding these cruel Executions, very sew Deys but one

Time

Time or other come to a fatal End. The Government of the African States bears a Resemblance to that of ancient Rome; the Soldiers are as insolent and wavering as the Roman Legions; and most of the Algerine Sovereigns imitate Caligula, Nero, and

Dioclesian.

As it is Guilt that generally raises the Deys to the Throne, it commonly drives them from it. A Prince reigns no longer in Africa, than till some Man rises up, who, at the Hazard of his Life, undertakes to murder him. Three or four Persons have often been seen to conspire against the Monarch, and affassinate him in the Midst of his Army, without its having the least Knowledge of, or expecting any such Conspiracy. A surprizing Circumstance is, this same Army has been seen to recognize one of the Murderers for its Sovereign; which Revolution has been brought about with as little Disturbance, as if only the meanest Wretch had been bereaved of Life.

AMURATH, Dey of Tunis, had exercised the most unheard of Cruelties in his Kingdom; and, unhappily for his Subjects, he had always been fo fortunate as to discover the Conspiracies that had been formed against him. These Discoveries were followed by the most cruel Executions, in which the Innocent frequently suffered with the Guilty. He facrificed to his Suspicions such as he imagined were not intirely devoted to him. Ibrahim, Aga of the Spahis, refolved, fingly, to complete an Attempt which had fo often miscarried; and without communicating his Design to any Person. Dey having fet out from Tunis, at the Head of his Army, to go and give Battle to the Moors of the Mountains; Ibrahim, whilst he was on the second Day's March, took the Instant when that Prince was in his Coach, and stopped by a small River; B 3

and discharged a Musket, loaded with several Bullets at him. The Dey happened to be only flightly wounded on this Occasion; but Mahommed, the Dey's Favourite, who was in the Coach, loft his Life. Amurath endeavouring to jump out of the Coach, in order to revenge himself that Moment, his Robe was entangled in the Coach-door, whereby he fell down, which gave Ibrahim an Opportunity of striking off his Head with his Sabre. During this whole Action, which lasted half a quarter of an Hour at leaft, the Dey's Guards, who were far from expecting such a Scene, did but look on, without once offering to affift their Sovereign. Only one Turk, after all the rest had forsaken their Prince, attempted to defend him, and fired a Pistol at Ibrahim. But, the Instant he perceived the Dey was dead, he fled; and endeavoured to fave himself from the Anger of the new Dey, who never fails to protect the Murderers of his Predecessor, as he owes his Throne to them.

It even happens very often, that the Crown is placed on the Head of the Murderer, as it was on the present Occasion, Ibrahim being recognized Dey, and enjoying, in this Manner, the Fruits of his Guilt. The Fate his Predeceffor had met with, proved to him how uncertain his own was. Experience taught him, that the same Guilt which had raised him to the Throne might as easily force him from it: For which Reason he endeavoured to inspire the Turks with different Ideas of Glory; and to make them fenfible, that it is just and glorious in Subjects to exert themselves to the utmost of their Power, in order to preferve the Life of their Sovereign. Soon after this, the Turk, who had fired the Pistol, was brought before him, when every one was persuaded that he would have put him to a very cruel Death. However, the new Dey,

Dey, so far from giving Orders for this Purpose, received him with a smiling Countenance, saying, that he did not consider Things in the same Light with other People; that he esteemed him infinitely, for having so zealously defended his Sovereign, to whom he had so many Obligations; and, desiring the Favour of his Friendship, appointed

him Aga *.

Were we to read, dear Monceca, so generous an Action in a Latin Author, we should give it the deserved Applause; it would be published all over Europe; and be proposed as a Model, in such Books as might be wrote for the Education of a Prince. But happening in a barbarous Country, and being performed by a Monarch who is very little known, it will be buried in eternal Oblivion, in case some Person, a true Lover of Merit, in what Country soever it may be found, does not transmit it to Pos-I will grant, dear Monceca, that possibly the generous Pardon granted by Ibrahim did not refult fo much from Greatness of Soul, as from a political View of winning over other Subjects to his Party; and of preparing himself a Defence against any Person who might presume to take away his Life. But, whatever might be the Motive of fo heroic an Action, it must still be confessed, that there is something great and wonderful in it. Were we to inquire into the secret Cause of the Steps taken by the most illustrious Princes, there are very few but what might be ascribed to political Views. The Clemency which Augustus shewed to Cinna, is confidered as one of the noblest Actions in that Emperor's Life: But was he not prompted by Self-interest on that Occasion? He had found that

^{*} This Event happened a little after Duke d'Etrees had renewed the Treaties at Tunis.

the most bloody Proscriptions could not secure his Life; for this Reason he was resolved to try what gentle Methods would do, and he found them successful.

I do not doubt, dear Monceca, that, were the African Princes to imitate the Sovereigns of Europe, in the Government of their Subjects, but they at last would succeed so far as to inspire them with Sentiments of Love and Veneration for their Monarchs. But how can they hope to enjoy any Share in their Affection, if they are their Executioners rather than their Fathers? The Dey of Algiers is an Enemy to every Individual; and his only Study is to contrive fome Pretence or other, in order to divest his Subjects of their Possessions, and put them to Death. These, in Return, pay Obedience to him only, because they are forced to it; and wait impatiently for the Moment in which they may free' themselves from his Tyranny. Is it not natural to expect the most dreadful Storms and Revolutions. in a State where the Subjects are Enemies to the Sovereign, and the Sovereign the Destroyer of his Subjects? I look upon the Deys of Algiers as Leeches, who glut themselves with Blood till they burst. The Monarch, in this Country, plunders, robs, and murders during a Course of Years. The Instant he imagines he is going to enjoy the Fruits of his Rapine, he meets with the Fate his Crime deferved; and is punished by some Person who commits the like Guilt; and who could not be prompted to take virtuous Courfes from the Example of his Predeceffors; and confequently is not more happy, nor more fecure on his Throne.

Adieu, dear Monceca; may you live contented, happy, and unruffled.

Algiers the

LETTER CLXII.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

HE Women, dear Monceca, are indulged much more Liberty throughout all Barbary, than in the Levant; and the Algerine Women are less confined than the rest of the Africans. They are allowed to go out whenever they please, upon pretence of going to the Bath; being commonly accompanied by fome Christian She-slaves, who are as so many Waiting-Those Women, whose Husbands are very rich, are preceded by a Man who ferves as a Con-This Man is always a Slave on whose Fidefity the Hulband relies very much; but he is frequently imposed on by the Man in whom he confides. As Eunuchs are bought at a very dear Price in this Country, and can be employed in nothing but in superintending the Women, they not being robust enough to undertake laborious Toils, the Algerines have no Concern with them. They prefer Nazarene Slaves, who are of great Service, being employed by them in Works of every kind. It must indeed be confessed, that the Liberty which Slaves are allowed of being in the Company of Women, and even of speaking to them, is frequently of dangerous Consequence to the Repose and Honour of Husbands.

The Female fex are still more devoted to Gallantry in this Country than in Constantinople. The Climate inspires Fondness; and the scorching Air rasses in the Heart such a Flame as nothing can exitinguish. An African Woman will brave every fort

of Danger, and run any Hazard to fatiate her Paffion; and cannot be intimidated even by the Fear of Death. There is a Law enacted here which is strictly put in Execution, pursuant to which, any Woman who is convicted of being engaged in a criminal Correspondence with a Nazarene, is sentenced to be tost into the Sea, her Head tied in a Sack, in case her Lover does not turn Mahommedan. Examples of this fevere Punishment are frequently feen; notwithstanding which, the married Women and Maidens are fired with a most violent Passion for the Nazarenes; and there perhaps are as many Intrigues in Algiers as in any Nazarene City. The Ittle Affection they bear to their Husbands, and the Constraint that is put upon them, excite them to break the Marriage-Vow. Farther, the Indolence in which they pass their Days, they being confined to their Houses, where their sole Employment is to invent Methods in order to over-reach their Tyrants. and the long Voyages these commonly undertake, greatly favour their Intrigues. They sometimes are eight or nine Months at Sea; and, whilst they are plundering and destroying the Nazarenes, such as are Slaves in Algiers revenge Part of the Ills which those of their Faith suffer.

When these Corsairs are upon their Expeditions, they generally keep their Wives in the City, but, the Moment of their Return, they take them to their Country houses, where they unbend after the many Hardships they have undergone at Sea. The Liberty allowed the Women of walking in the Gardens gives them an Opportunity of continuing their Intrigues. If they can speak to their Lovers only by Stealth, they find an Opportunity of explaining their Meaning, by ranging the Flower-pots

in a certain Order.

Artifice and Love have invented fuch a Language

in this Country as is unknown to all others. A Slave who is in love with, and beloved by his Mistress, is able to explain the several Impulses of his Heart, by the Manner in which he disposes a Parterre. A Nosegay made in a certain Manner contains as many tender and passionate Ideas, as could be thrown into a Letter of eight Pages in length. The Flower-gentle being placed by the Violet ignifies that the Lover hopes, after the Husband is gone away, to compensate for all the Evils which his Presence occasions. The Orange-slower denotes Hope. The Marigold implies Despair. The Amaranth shews Constancy. The Tulip reproaches with being unfaithful. And the Rose supposes an

Encomium of Beauty.

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From the particular Attributes ascribed to these Flowers a perfect Language is formed. If a Lover, for Instance, was desirous of acquainting his Mittress, that the Torments he suffers have brought him to the Brink of Despair; if he never expected to be made happy again by the Absence of his Rival; in this Case, he forms a Nosegay of a Marigold, an Orange-flower, a Flower-gentle, and a Violet. The Slaves eafily find an Opportunity to communicate those Billetdoux to their Mistresses; there being some secret Place in the Garden where they always place them. Answers are returned after the fame Manner; for by gathering fome Flowers, they form their Letters of them, undiscovered by any Spectator; the Signification of the principal Letters being fometimes known only to two Persons, who never fail to make several Deviations from the Language commonly used, to prevent their being discovered.

You must own, dear Minceca, that Love only could have been industrious enough, to invent so ingenious a Method to elude the Care and Forefight

of jealous Husbands. What will not two Lovers effect, when Necessity forces them to have Recourse to Stratagems? I was lately told a Story, which will equally touch and surprize all Readers who are unacquainted with the violent Lengths to which

Love will carry the African Women.

The only Daughter of one of the richest Moors in this Country entertained a Passion for a Portuguese Slave. The Girl, pursuant to the Custom established in Africa, made the first Advances. Neither the large Fortune she justly expected, nor the groveling Condition of her Lover could divert the Resolution she had taken to marry him; and, notwithstanding the Obstacles which she foresaw, with regard to the Execution of her Project, nothing could make her lose the Hopes of giving Success to The Portuguese, ftruck with the Thoughts of his good Fortune, offered the fond Maid, the Moment the discovered her Passion, to run away with her to Lishon, which might have been done easily enough; and the Nazarene might have escaped, by the Affistance surnished him by Zulima, for such was the Name of our beautiful Female African, She was sensible that the Expedient proposed by her Lover was the most rational, and almost the only one that could bring her to her wished for Happiness. But being a zealous Mahommedan, and firmly perfuaded of the Truth of her Religion, the could not confent to retire to a Country where she would have been forced to guit her Faith. I love you, Sebastiano, said she to her Lover, much more than I do myself. Grief will kill me if I am not made your Wise, and yet I can never prevail with myself to purchase my Happiness at the Price of my Faith. It is not impossible but we may be happy in this Country, without running the Hazard of being discovered, in case we should fly. Change your Religion. Remove,

by turning Mahommedan, the chief Obflacle that keeps us asunder; and leave the rest to me. The Nazarene was much less attached to his Religion than the Female Mahommedan: Not to mention that the Fear of totally losing his Mistress, the Desire of recovering his Liberty, and the Hopes of acquiring a great Fortune, had the strongest Instuence on his Resolutions. He promised to comply with any Thing she might require of him; and upon a solemn Promise made by him to quit the Religion of the Nazarenes, whenever it should be necessary, the charming Maar indulged him whatever Love was

capable of bestowing.

These Favours served only to strengthen the Pasfion which Sebastiano felt for her. The Fear he was under of one Day losing his dear Zulima in-creased his Fondness; and his Mistress was in the like Frame of Mind. Her whole Attention was to give Success to the Design she had in view, but she found new Obstacles every Moment; when on a certain Day, at a Time the least expected it, her Father declared, that he intended to marry her to one of the principal Men of the Country. Words were as a Thunder-bolt to the Maiden. the first Transports of her Grief she resolved to fall at her Father's Feet, and open her whole Soul to him. Nevertheless, she did not yet dare to comply with her first Impulses, for fear of exposing her Husband to the Anger of an exasperated Master, which might probably carry him to the greatest Lengths.

In this Dilemma Zulima resolved to make use of an Expedient which was equally extraordinary and infallible, in order to succeed in her Design. She bid her Lover meet her at a certain Place, whither she went upon Pretence of going to the Bath, and was attended only by one Woman. Sebastiano, being come to the Place appointed, had like to have

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died with Sorrow, upon hearing that his Miffress was going to enter into the Marriage-State. However, Zulima bid him take Heart, telling him that the hoped Fortune would foon become more propitious to them. She then ordered the Woman who had accompanied her, and was her Confidant, to go and inform the Cadi, that her Mistress was in such a Place, in the Arms of a Nazarene. The Attendant obeying, the Judge came with his Subaltern Officers, and surprized the two Lovers in the midst of their warmest Transports, when they were instantly conveyed to the Prison where Criminals are tried. Zulima's Father, being told the Accident which had happened to his Daughter, was feized with Despair; upon which he flew to the Prison in order to fee her. There he was told, that he could not be admitted to speak to her, 'till such Time as her Trial was over. That Inquiry was now making whether the Nazarene Slave would turn Mahommedan; and that if he would comply on that Occasion, the two Lovers should be married together, pursuant to the Laws; but that in Case of his Refusal he should be impaled, and his Daughter drowned in the Sea.

Mustapha, for this was the Name of Zulima's Father, knew but too well what Punishment would be inflicted on his Daughter, in Case the Portugueze refused to turn Musfulman. And indeed the only Motive which prompted Mustapha to desire a Sight of them, was to offer him Wealth, and engage the Nazarene to change his Religion. He had no Occasion to make use of any Rhetoric to exhort them to preser Life to a cruel Death; for the Moment he made the Overtures, Sebastiano answered, that he would gladly embrace the Religion proposed by Zulima, and marry her; and the Father thought himself happy in having an Opportunity of pre-

ferving the Life of his only Daughter on these Conditions.

Few Women in Europe, dear Monceca, would have Recourse to such Expedients, in order to have the Satisfaction of obtaining a Lover. Their Passion, in general, is much fainter than that of the African Women; but then their Flame is much more constant and durable. One of these shall sometimes be fired with the strongest Passion, which in an Instant shall be extinguished: They shift successively from one Inclination to another; and are as sickle, and as wavering, as they are tender and passionate, in those Moments when their Fondness is at its greatest Height.

It is certain, dear Monceca, that such Inclinations and Endearing nesses, as are productive of the most extraordinary Essects, are not commonly the most lasting. We often see in Europe a great Number of young Fellows give into the highest Extravagancies for the Sake of their Mistresses; two Months after which they shall forsake them, and grow as ridiculously fond of others, whose Reign is of no longer Date; whereas Persons of a certain Age, who seem to curb their Passions, and subject them to Reason, form such Tendernesses as are sometimes as lasting as Life.

The Slavery to which the Female Africans are reduced is likewise one of the chief Causes of their Fickleness. They find a secret Satisfaction in violating the Constraint they are laid under. Their Husbands, by endeavouring to prevent their being unfaithful, inspire them with an earnest Desire of being so; and they strongly covet a Pleasure which they are forbid on the severest Penalties. This Example of their Husbands, who exhibit to them Proofs every Day, that a Change of the Object, in Love, is a Charm in which the Heart always meets with

with fresh Delights, raises their Desires. It is extremely natural for them to suppose, that Inconstancy gives an Opportunity of enjoying the most

delicious Pleasures:

Adieu, dear Monceca, and may the God of our Fathers give thee an Abundance of Blessings of every Kind; and bestow a Wife upon thee, who may make thee happy in a numerous Posterity.

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LETTER CLXIII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Con-, stantinople.

Religious Disputes, dear Isaac, are more common in this Country than in any other. The Liberty which the English are allowed, of afferting their Opinions publicly, gives Rise to a great Number of Pieces which are published daily. Those of the Church of England write against the Papists, the Papists against the Presbyterians, the Presbyterians against the Lutherans, the Lutherans against the Sociainans, and the Sociainans against the Anabaptists, who also publish controversial Writings. A Man is surprized when he examines, with a philosophic Eye, all these different Disputes; and the little Stress that ought to be laid on the particular Opinion of some Doctors, who set themselves up as supreme Judges of the Belief of Mankind. I fancy, dear Isaac, that if Persons had been forbid to dispute in

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A Name given to some Sectaries among the Jews. There are some of them still subsisting in the Levant and in Poland. Remark by the Translator.

any Religion whatever, on such Subjects as they did not understand; and that the Divines had been commanded, not to attempt to clear up such Doctrines and other Points as they could never understand, there never would have risen that Multiplicity of Opinions, whence a numberless Multitude of different Religions have sprung, and will give Birth to many more. And if a Stop is not put to these vain Disputes, especially among the Nazarenes; the Consequence will be, that, by their Divisions and Separations from their several Communions, every Man will at last entertain his peculiar Belief.

Consider, dear Isaac, how pernicious the Writings of the Rabbis have been to the Jews. The Difference between the Rabbinists and the Caraites is owing chiefly to the Talmud. According to some of our modern Authors, the Rabbinists are divided into two different Sects. The Portuguese Jews declare that the German Jews do not observe the true Precepts of the Law: And the Germans think that the Portuguese are a Parcel of Herctics, whose Manners and Customs savour too through of the Naza-

rene Principles.

The Mahommedans are still more divided than the Jews. Besides the Sects of Omar and Ali, there are computed, only in the City of Constantinople, fourscore and seven Communions; all which bear almost as great a Hatred one to the other as the Je-

fuits do to the Fansenists.

The Nazirenes are so disunited, that some new Religion is seen starting up among them almost every Day. As soon as a Divine gains some Reputation, several rise up, who endeavour to diminish his Fame and Reputation. These attack his Opinions, and declare them to be heretical. The Adherents of the Doctor whose Sentiments are condemned seldom fail of siding with their Master; and, by that Means,

of forming a new Communion. Then it is that a Flood of new Writings are published on both Sides: They rail at one another, they inveigh, they calumniate, and charge each other with Ignorance and Infincerity; they give the most opprobious, the most shocking Names, to their Adversaries as well as to their Opinions. In religious Disputes, such as are not able to answer the Objections made to them, think they support their Opinions sufficiently, if they

treat those who oppose them with Contempt.

I read, fome Days fince, the Works of a Socinian*, who affects to bestow the odious Name of Tritheism on the Doctrine of his Adversaries, though they expressly declare that they do not acknowledge three Gods. It must be confessed, dear Isaac, that we cannot charge the Nazarene Sect, without incurring the Guilt of a most contemptible Insincerity, as admitting a Plurality of Gods. Their whole Religion, on the contrary, is intirely sounded on the Unity of one single Being, Creator of the Universe. And indeed I will confess to thee, that I conceived the highest Indignation at the Book of the Socinian in Question.

Sincerity and Candor ought to season every Action of our Lives, and even have a Place in such Contests as we may be engaged in with our Enemies. But is it not surprizing that Men should exclaim against, and load with injurious Reproaches, Persons whom they profess to enlighten, and lead into the Paths of Truth? Is not this a most odd Way of prejudicing them in Favour of the Opinions we would make them imbibe; and is not this Method of preparing their Minds for the Recepti-

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^{*} A Letter to a Friend, with Remarks on two Pamphlets lately published in Defence of Tritheism; wiz. a brief Enquiry by J. T. and the Socinian Stain by J. H.

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I have observed, dear Isaac, that the Passion of those who dispute on religious Matters is so wild and extravagant, that they inconfiderately vent against them the most cruel Reproaches, which these have The Nazarenes in general a just Right to retort. are very guilty of this Fault; and a great many of their most eminent Divines have not been exempt from it. Nay, fome of those Divines who wrote against the Heathens, have employed such Arguments as were of Service to their Adversaries. Arnobius has very vigorously refuted the Plurality of the heathen Deities t. He has folidly refuted the Absurdity of supposing a Set of Gods who are direct Opponents one of the other, and who declared in favour of certain Nations that were perfecuted by other Deities. Pallas hated the Trojans; whereas they were favoured by Apollo and Venus *. How

† Quid si Populi rursus duo hostilibus dissidentes armis, sacrificiis paribus Superorum locupletaverint Aras, alterque in alterum postulent vires sibique ad Auxilium commendari, nonne iterum necesse est credi, si premiis sollicitantur, ut prosint, eos Partes inter utrasque debere hastare, desigi, nec reperire quid saciant, cum suas intelligunt gratias Sacrorum Acceptionibus obligatas? Aut inde Auxilia binc vinde prastabunt; id quod sieri non posset, pugnabunt enim contra ipsos se ipsis contra suas Gratias, Voluntatesque nitentur: aut ambobus Populis Opem subministrare cessabunt, id quod Sceleris magni est post impensam acceptamque Mercedem. Arnobius contra Gentes, Lib. VII. pag. 219.

* Sape premente Deo, fert Deus alter Opem, Mulciber in Trojam, pro Troja stabat Apollo.

Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fnit.

Oderat Æneam propior Saturnia Turno: Ille tamen Veneris Numine tutus erat.

> Ovid. Trift. Lib. I. Elig. 113. unhappy

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unhappy soever a Man might be, if he could but make some little Offering to any of the Deities among the great Numbers who were established, he was sure to obtain the Protection of one of them.

Nothing can be fo abfurd as a Religion of this Kind. But might not the Pagans justly make the following Answer to the Nazarenes? The same Difficulties which you object to us are found in your Opimions. When one of your Religion chuses St. Anthony for his Protector, and his Enemy takes St. Pacomius for bis, what a Confusion does this Diversity of Protectors occasion? On these Occasions, the Saints in Question must combat together in Heaven, whilst those whom they side with are fighting upon the Earth, and thus revive the Disputes between Venus and Juno. In Case they observe a Neutrality, and leave this Matter to the Determination of Chance, do they not deserve to be charged with Ingratitude, in the same Manner as Arnobius accuses the false Gods, viz. of meanly abandoning those who had offered up Honours and numberless Oblations to them? May we not justly apply the following Passage of the Author in Question to juch a Bebaviour as this? Opem administrare cellabunt, id quod sceleris magni est post acceptam mercedem *?

And indeed is there not some Resemblance between the Offerings which the Nazarenes devote to their Saints, and those which the Greeks and Romans used to bestow on their Deities? Do they not present them with Gold and Silver Vessels? Do they not dedicate Churches to them? Do they not lavish their Bounty on the Priests appointed to chaunt forth their Praises? Why then ought not these Saints to be as grateful as the Heathen Deities? The single Chapel dedicated to St. Ignatius, in Rome, con-

^{*} Arnob. contra Gentes, Lib. VII. pag. 219.

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tains almost as valuable a Treasure as the Temple of Delphor. Must not this Saint be basely ungrateful to abandon those to whom he owed that immense Wealth? On the other Hand, the Jansenists facrifice their Lives and Estates, for the Sake of St. Mugustin's Memory; they defend his Writings, and maintain his Glory. Is he less obliged to protect them; and can he give them up to the Fury of their Adversaries, without infringing the Laws of the foundest Morality? What Feuds and Divisions. must therefore prevail between the two Saints in Question, in Heaven, if we may form a Judgment of this from the extreme Hatred which is found here below among their Followers? Must they not necesfarily occasion great Confusion in the celestial Man fions, by the Cabals they form in them? It is therefore my Opinion, dear Isaac, that a Heathen who should set about answering Arnabius, would have a fine Opportunity, of excusing the Division which arose among the Gods at the Siege of Troy; that he would not fail to describe all the Nazarene Saints at Daggers Drawing; and joining, as the Whim might take them, either the Jansenists or the Molinists. He would draw St. Ignatius,

Arm'd with a Bull, and hasting to Pope Clement, To sow the Seeds of Fury in his Bosom *.

* Auron Montece alludes to the following Verses of

Respice ad beec. Adfum Dirarum ab Sede fororum :

Bella manu, Letumque gero.

Sie effata facem juveni conjecit, et atro Lumine fumantes fixit sub Pectore tædas.

Olli Somnum ingens rupit Pawor; offaque et Areus

Perfudit toto proruptus Corpore Sudor.

Arma amens fremit : Arma toro tellisque requirit.
Virgil. Æneid. Lib. VII. ve

Virgil. Æneid. Lib. VII. ver. 454.

Such Nazarenes as would deal candidly, must own that Arnobius's Reproaches were not built on fo folid a Foundation as he imagined; and that his Adverfaries might have attacked him for that very Circumstance upon which he pretended to infult them. The Reproaches of this Father will therefore be very weak, in case the Worship of the Saints, as now practifed by feveral of the Nazarenes, is admitted. But, on the other Hand, I should be apt to believe, from his Erudition, his Genius, and his Eloquence, that, in the Age he wrote, the Custom was not yet introduced of offering up Prayers to the Dead, though they had been never fo glorious, and acquired the highest Veneration, in their Life-Time. If that be the Case, as many of the Nazarenes in this Age pretend, it is very certain that the Objection against the Heathens was of great Weight; and that it was impossible for them to anfwer, in any tolerable Manner, the Objection made to them with Regard to the Feuds among the Deities; and their Ingratitude, in case they resused to join in the Quarrels of fuch as were extremely liberal towards them.

Such Nazareens as reject the Worship of the Dead, ground their Belief on the Writings of their first Divines, who make no Mention of any Honours which ought to be paid them. It is natural to suppose, that had these Honours been a sundamental Point of Religion, they would not have been intirely silent on this Head; and that those who succeeded them in their Functions, and spent their Time in instructing the People, would not have insulted the Heathens for a Practice they themselves observed. Had they acted in this Manner, they must necessarily have exposed themselves to the sharpest Ridicule; and have met with the same Treatment as many Divines who write in this Age,

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and to whom the very same Things are objected as they level against their Adversaries. The Molinists declare incessantly in their Writings, that the Jansenists make a Tyrant of the Deity; that they describe him as cruel, fantastical; in short, with so odious a Character, that it is impossible for such a Deity to endear himself to Mankind. The latter, on the contrary, charge their Adversaries with making the Creature dispense with the Love he owes his Creator; and attack them with the very Weapons

with which they intended to wound them.

Another Circumstance, my dear IJaac, that appears to me still more extraordinary, in religious Disputes is, the Opinions which the Divines put into the Mouths of their Adversaries; and for which they inveigh bitterly against them, though the latter expresly deny their holding the Opinions with which they are charged. The Jesuits complain that it is mere Calumny, when they are reproached with afferting that it is no Crime not to love the Deity. They condemn this Doctrine in the strongest Terms *. Nevertheless, their Adversaries are for The Protestant Nazaever renewing the Attack. renes consider these as execrable Heretics who make God the Author of Sin; and their chief Divine expresses himself in very clear Terms on that Head t. But

^{*} To be convinced of this, we need but read Bourdaloue's Sermons.

[†] Temulenti isti adeo sieri omnia perstrepentes, eum enim mali auctorem constituunt, deinde quasi immutetur Mali natura, cum sub boc Nomine Dei velo tegitur, Bonum esse assirmant: In quo atrociore & seleratiore Contumelia Deum assiciunt, quam si Potestatem aut Justitiam u sius alio transferrent. Cum enim Deo nibil magis proprium sit quam sua Bonitas, ipsum à se abnegari oporteret, & in Diabolum transmutari, ut Malam essecret quod ei ab issis tribuitur.

But, notwithstanding this, his Adversaries have declared a thousand Times, that his Opinions are of more pernicious Consequence than those of Atheists. It is less criminal to deny the Existence of God, than to make him Author of Sin. Who then is the most guilty, an Atheist or a Calvinist? They are both guilty; but I look upon the Atheist as least so. Here we have a Decision that is greatly strained; and indeed it comes from a Jesuit, whose Words are as follow: Amplius dico: Tolerabilius negare Deum, quam Peccati Autorem Deum asserve. ... Quid ergo suadeo, Atheum potius quam Calvinistam esse? Neutrum quidem bonum: Hoc tamen deterius apparet.

It may be faid, dear Ijaac, that, if a Spirit of Infincerity is always found to prevail in Disputes, it is carried to the highest Pitch by controversial Writers.

Is it not high Time, that the Rabbis, the Priess, and the Musties, after having plagued the whole World during so many Ages, should at last introduce a Spirit of Peace and Tranquillity among Mankind?

Farewell, dear Isaac; live contented and happy; and be ever averse to a vain Defire of disputing.

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Et certe istorum Deus Idolum est, quod nobis execrabilius esse debet omnibus Gentium Idolis. Calvini Instit. adversus Li-

bert. Cap. XIV. pag. 447.

Here follows the Conclusion of this Passage, in favour of those who do not understand Latin: As God has not any Quality more essential to him, than his Goodness, he must cease to be, and transform himself into a Devil, was be Author of Evil, as Freethinkers say; the God in whom they believe being a more execuable Idol than any of those of the Idolaters.

Becanus, Opuscul. Theolog. Tom. I. pag. 178.

LETTER CLXIV.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

THE Stories, dear Monceca, which the Nazarenes relate concerning the Treatment Slaves meet with during their Captivity, are sometimes very much exaggerated. They affirm, that the Turks instict the most cruel Punishments on the Captives, and relate very surprizing Particulars to this Purpose; nevertheless, when strictly inquired into,

they appear very different.

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It is certain, however, that their Captivity in general is rigorous; but then the Nazarenes do not meet with more severe Treatment, than the Turkish Slaves do from the European Princes. In France, an Algerine is condemned to the Gallies for Life, as likewise in Spain and Italy. Can any Punishment be more severe? The Captives are punished in the same Manner as Malesactors, who often escape Death, merely by their good Fortune in hitting upon one of those auspicious Moments, in which the Pity of the Judges prevails over the Rigours of Justice.

One Part of the Nazarene Slaves is employed in the public Works. These draw Stones out of the Quarries, and carry them to any Place where they may be wanted. This, doubtless, must be a very laborious and painful Occupation; and yet those engaged in it are less unhappy than the Galley-Slaves. At Night they retire to a Kind of Barracks, but are not chained there; whereas the Turks are perpetually sastened to their Seats in the Gallies, unless they happen to be ransomed, or to make their

Escape. Vol. V.

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Such Nazarenes as are not employed in the public Works, but belong to private Persons, are a thousand Times less unhappy than the Turkish Slaves. They are pretty well sed; whereas the others have such Aliment only as is given to Slaves, viz. a Pound of Fat, of as exquisite a Kind as that used in making of Candles, and in which the Beans allotted for twenty-five Slaves are stewed.

I cannot conceive, dear Monceca, as the Nazarenes treat their Captives with so much Severity, how they can possibly inveigh so much against the Usage which those of their Religion meet with, who are Slaves among the Turks. If there were Orators among the Africans, who had the Art of moving the Passions, by pathetic Speeches, I am persuaded they would make as pompous and affecting Declamations, on the Cruelty which their Country-

men meet with, as those of the Nazarenes.

However, I do not condemn, dear Monceca, those Writers, and particularly certain Friars (obliged by the Rules of their Order, to redeem Captives) who magnify a little in their Relations, and enlarge on the Evils of Slavery. This is of Use to inflame the Charity of the Nazarenes, who, moved to Compassion at the sad Fate of their Brethren, employ their utmost Endeavours to free them from Few Alms are more Praise-worthy, more neceffary than fuch as are bestowed for freeing Slaves from Misery, to which they were reduced merely by the Sport of Fortune; their Calamity not being the Effect of their Guilt. The public Welfare heightens, on this Occasion, the Pity and Charity of private Persons: For if no Regard is paid to those who endeavour to make Arts flourish, and if they are not succoured in their Missortunes; it might be juftly feared that Multitudes would be intimidated, who otherwise might be tempted to brave the

the Perils of the Sea, if they were not restrained by a Dread of meeting with the like sad Fate. I had much rather, would a Spaniard say, be less wealthy, than run the Hazard of losing my Liberty, without

any Hopes of ever recovering it.

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The Cultom of relieving Slaves is of as ancient a Date among the Nazarenes, as the Establishment of their Religion. Their first Doctors, who were Persons of a charitable Disposition, and whose Bufinels was always to comfort Persons in Distress, appointed Gatherings to be made, which were diffributed for the Benefit of fuch as were persecuted, banished, butchered, or burned. The Instant that those appointed to distribute the Alms heard that any of their Brethren were imprisoned, they immediately endeavoured to relieve them. They thought it was for the Glory of the Nazarene Name, to be affected with the Calamities of those who enjoyed that Name in common with them. So laudable a Custom has been perpetuated among several Nati-Among the French, the Italians. ons of Europe. the Spaniards and Portuguese, are Monks, who collect the Monies bestowed for the Redemption of Captives, and employ them for that Purpose. It would be fcarce possible for them to embezzle a considerable Part of the Monies put into their Hands. they being audited by some of the Laity, who could never be prevailed upon to connive at fuch a Fraud. Yet, notwithstanding all the Precautions used, some little Embezzlements are made by the Friars; but this they more than compensate, by the Benefit produced by their Sermons, which is wholly formed of an Account of Slaves who had been burned, impaled, cut to Pieces, &c. These Monks destroy a much greater Number, in a fingle Period, than has or will be killed, in every Country where the Mabommedan Religion is professed, to the End of the

World. However, these Preachers sometimes give Relations in which Truth shines forth from amid the Clouds with which they darken it. Those who are desirous of distinguishing Truth from Falshood, and of knowing the true State of the Cruelty exercised by the Turks, discover it on the Occasions in

Question.

I observed, dear Monceca, that the Condition of those Nazarenes, who are Slaves to private Persons, is much happier than that of such Turks as are in Captivity among the Spaniards and French. A Friar, who has given us a Relation of his Voyage to Tripoli, could not prevail with himself to magnify the Sufferings of the Slaves in uestion; and has thus described the Liberty which the Turks permit them to enjoy: As for those Slaves whom they employ in their Gardens, their Toils are far less grievous; but then they are deprived of all spiritual Succours, many of them dying without receiving the Sacraments. It is on this Occasion that they suffer a Persecution, which is much more dangerous in its Confequences, though it does not appear so severe: For, as Vice is there permitted to appear bare-faced, and all Things conspire to inflame the most abominable Passions, the Turks, taking Advantage of the little spiritual Succours the Christians meet with there, oblige the Females (who are but too prone to this of themselves) among them to employ all the seducing Arts possible, to corrupt them; and, if these Nazarene Captives are so unhappy as to be drawn away, they then are under a Necessity, either of turning Mahommedans, or of perishing in the Flames. These Barbarians frequently excite them to commit Actions of the most shocking Brutality, and do all that lies in their Power to reduce them to an infernal Captivity, by the abominable Crime that prevails so much among them. So that a Christian, in Tripoli, suffers as much from the the vile Blandshments of the Infidels, as in other Places,

from the Cruelty of the Barbarians *.

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It would be impossible for a more specious Pretence to be hit upon, in order to give an odious Air to the Kindness of the Turkish Patrons, than in suppoling it directly repugnant to the Nazarene Religion; and those who believe whatever they are told, without taking the Pains to give it a due Examination, look upon the Condition of those Slaves who belong to private Persons, as more calamitous than that of fuch as appertain to the State. However, nothing can be falfer than the Arts which it is faid their Women are commanded to employ, in order to prompt their Slaves to change their Religion. On the contrary, it is a great Grief to them when any fuch Thing happens, because they are obliged, at the Expiration of a certain Time, to give them their Liberty: And the Captives, fo far from being reduced to the Necessity, either of turning Mahommedans, or of periffing in the Flames, when they are catched in an Intrigue with any of the Turkish Women, only receive an hundred Blows on the Soles of their Feet. There indeed is a Law, which prevails all over Barbary in general, that, whenever a Nazarene is catched in an Intrigue with a Turkish Woman, the former will be impaled, and the latter drowned; but this Law is never put in Force; except with Regard to fuch Persons, who, being in a State of Freedom, are not able to raise a confiderable Sum to fave their Lives; for, as to Slaves, they

^{*} The State of the Kingdoms of Barbary, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, containing the History, both natural and political, of those Countries; and the Treatment which the Slaves there meet with from the Turks; the Manner of their being ransomed, &c. p. 76.

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feldom fall a Sacrifice to it. This Distinction is owing to a Principle of Self-interest among the Turks; sew of them thinking it reasonable to sacrifice their Slaves to the Glory of Mahommed. As to the Women, they are punished with great Severity: If their Gallants will not turn Mohammedans, the Women in Question are drowned. Thou seest, dear Monceca, how little Credit ought to be given to such Relations as are wrote by Persons whose Interest it is to disguise the Truth. However, as I before observed, this ought to be excused, whenever any considerable Advantage is to result from it.

It is furprizing that the European Princes, who have had so much Reason to complain of the Corfairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; who fometimes. even chastised them with Severity, though always to no Purpose; should never have formed a Resolution utterly to destroy them. This might have been eafily done, and they thereby might have freed all the Mediterranean Coast from a Pest that has the must deadly Effect upon Trade. They ought to rely very little on the Alliance into which they may enter with those Barbarians, because these, the Infant it is their Interest to infringe them, never fail to do it. Necessity even obliges them, in order to fubfist themselves, to violate the Articles of Peace with some Prince, whenever they cease Hostilities with Regard to another. If a Harmony subsists between them and the French and English, they then are fure to plunder the Dutch and Spaniards; and, if they afterwards join in Amity with the Dutch, they then break off from the French. This is a Circumstance which all Europe knows to be true, and, at the same Time, concerns the Interest of all the Nazarene Princes. Nevertheless, they are so far from joining together against their common Enemies,

mies, that they favour them, and furnish them with

Succours of every Kind.

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The Politics of the Nazarene Monarchs prove the strongest Support of the Corsairs of Barbary. Whoever examines this Matter thoroughly will find, that the Interests of the several Crowns are so different, that it will be impossible for them ever to unite, in order to destroy the Algerines, the Tunisians, and Tripolitans. It is the Interest of the English not to let the Spaniards, the French, or the Dutch possess themselves of the Ports of Barbary: For, the Moment they should be engaged in War with those Nations, they could not cast Anchor any where along the Coasts of the Mediterranean, but would be excluded from all its Ports. The English are so firmly perfuaded, that it is against their Interest for the Spaniards to be powerful in Barbary, that they would willingly have affifted the Turks in recovering Oran. For the same Reason which will not al. low the Spaniards to possess themselves of the Ports of Barbary, the other Powers will not be prompted to affift any Crown that should attempt to seize upon them.

The Interest of Trade also prevents Princes from uniting together against the Algerines. The greater, Obstacles the Spaniards and Dutch meet with in their Navigation, the more Advantage the British Ships enjoy. I will suppose three Vessels, belonging to the Spaniards, the French, and the English, lying at Cales, and bound for Marseilles. Now, if it depended upon myself to put Goods on board any of the three Vessels I might think proper, I should be far from making Choice of the Spanish Ship; because I should have the Corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, the Turks and the Moors for my Enemies. I should run much less Hazard in shipping my Goods on board the Frenchman, having no Enemies to dread

dread but the Sallee-rovers; nevertheless, I should make Choice of the English Vessel, because I then

should stand in Fear of No-body.

It is so very considerable an Advantage to be freed from all Apprehensions with Regard to Corsairs, that there is no Spanish Ship but would hoist the English or French Flag, in case this was allowed. Those French Consuls who are settled in the Ports of Italy, reap great Advantages by the Permission they obtain from the French Admiral, in Favour of several Merchants, who, to prevent evil Accidents, trade under the French Flag. If the Ships of all other Nations enjoyed the same Privileges, those of the Nation in Question would consequently be of no Use.

Such, dear Monceca, is the odd Fate of Mankind. One Party cannot raise itself but by pulling down the other. If they all entertained a just Way of thinking, they doubtless would be sensible, that the Duty most incumbent on them, is to sacrifice all Views of fordid Interest to the Ease and Tranquillity of their Brethren. But the Politics of States, which is sounded solely on the Views of Riches and Grandeur, classes with the Sentiments dictated by Humanity. An Englishman does not value if an hundred Spaniards are made Slaves, provided his Trade slourishes, and his Vessel arrives safe in the Harbour.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Monceca; live contented and happy; and imprint deep in thy Memory, that a Philosopher ought never to be actuated by Views of Self-Intered.

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LETTER CLXV.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

THE Sciences, my dear Monceca, are entirely unknown in Aigiers. The People there have not the least Tincture of any Thing relating to Philosophy and polite Literature. There are only a few pitiful Astrologers in that Country, who abuse the Credulity of the People; and some Ballad-makers, whose Songs are greatly inferior to those which blind People sing at the Corners of Streets in Paris.

The like Ignorance prevails in all Parts of Africa, the Kingdom of Morocco excepted. In the Capital of this Empire is an University, of which the renowned Averroes was formerly Professor. The University in Question is composed of a great Number of learned Arabians, who adhere strongly to the Doctrine of Aristotle, whose Works were translated into Arabic by Averroes.

The Moors were as great Peripateticks anciently, as the Friars: And, about the same Time that Averroes brought the Arabians acquainted with this Greek Philosopher, the French began to imbibe his Opinions. Rigordus informs us in his History, that, in a Council held at Paris in 1209, the Assembly sentenced to the Flames some of Aristotle's Works, which were explained in the Schools; and which, having been brought not long before from Constantinople, had been translated from the Greek into Latin *.

^{*} Delati de novo à Constantinopoli, & e Graco in Latinum translati. Rigordus, in Vitâ Philippi Angusti, apud Launoium de varia Aristotelis Fortuna, cap. i. p. 6.

The Peripatetic System prevailed longer in Africa than it did in Europe, and it has now enjoyed a Reign there of sive hundred Years. Happily for its Glory, Morecco has not given Birth to a Des Cartes or a Gassendis. In all Probability, should any such arise up among them, they would find it as hard a Task to make the Arabians sensible of the Desects in the ancient Philosophy, as the French to open the Eyes of their Countrymen. It is certain that they would be as grievously persecuted; the Doctors among the Moors being as choleric as the Nazarene Divines; as bigotted to the Opinions which have been instilled into them in their Youth; and as ready to cry out, a Heretic, whenever any Person happens to dissent from them.

Averroes involved himself in a Series of Troubles, for attempting to outstrip his Brother-Professors; and it was not, till after he had suffered much greater Calamities than those which obliged Des Cartes to leave his native Country, that he at last found an Opportunity of pursuing undisturbed his philosophical Studies. The History of his Missortunes is so very curious, and gives so exact a Description of the Jealousy which prevails so much among the Learned, what Religion soever they may profess, that you will not be displeased to meet here with a short Account of them, written by a very able

Writer:

"Several of the Nobility as well as Doctors in Corduba, particularly Ibnu-Zoar the Physician, envied Averroes; and resolved to impeach him, as entertaining heterodox Principles. They suborned certain Youths, who besought him to savour them with some Lectures in Philosophy.

" Averraes complied with their Request, and discowered to them his Opinions in philosophical Mat-

" ters; upon which they caused an Instrument

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of this to be drawn up by a public Officer, and " impeached him as a Heretic. The Inflrument in " Question was figned by an hundred Witnesses, " and fent to Manfor, King of Morocco. The er Prince, having read it was enraged, and cried aloud; it is plain this Man is not of our Religion. " He confiscated all his Possessions, and sentenced " him to confine himself in the District inhabited by the 'Jews. Averroes obeyed; but as, when " he used to go sometimes to the Mosque, to offer " up his Prayers, Boys would often throw Stones at him, he withdrew from Corduba to Fez, and there concealed himself. However, he was disco-" vered a few Days after; when being thrown " into Prison, his Enemies asked Mansor what " should be done with him? The Monarch affembled feveral Divines as well as Lawyers, and bid " them declare what Punishment ought to be in-" flicted upon fuch a Man? Most of them replied, " that he ought to be put to Death, as being an " Heretic; but some represented, that it would not " be proper to put to Death a Person of his Emi-" nence, who was chiefly known under the Cha-" racter of a Lawyer and a Divine; and therefore, " continued they, it will not be reported among " the People, that a Heretic was condemned, but " a Lawyer and a Divine. The Confequence of " this will be, I. That the Infidels will no longer " be induced to come over to our Religion, which " must necessarily lessen the Number of its Proce fessors. 2. A Complaint will be made, that the " African Doctors feek out, and discover Reasons " for putting one another to Death; it will there-" fore be more confonant to the Dictates of Juftice to oblige him to make a Recantation before " the Gate of the chief Mosque, where this Que " tion shall be put to him, Whether he repents?" It

is humbly our Opinion, that your Majesty ought to pardon him, in case he gives Tokens of Re-" pentance; for what Man here below is intirely " free from Guilt? Mansor approved of this Advice, and gave the necessary Orders, to the Goor nernor of Fez, for putting it in Execution. " Pursuant thereunto, our Philosopher, one Friday, at the Hour of Prayer, was led to the Gate of the chief Mosque; and being bare-headed, was se fet upon the highest Step, when all who entered into the Mosque spit in his Face. Prayers being ended, the Doctors attended by the Notaries. and the Judge with his Affistants, came and asked the ill-fated Philosopher, whether he repented of his Herefy? He answered, that he did, " upon which he was discharged. He continued in Fez, and there read Lectures on the Civil-Law. Some Time after this, Manfor giving him Leave to return to Corduba, he went thither, but led " a miserable Life, having neither Money nor Books. In the mean Time, the Judge who " fucceeded him, discharged so ill the Duties of his Functions; and Justice in general was for " badly administered in this Country, that the Peoof ple found themselves cruelly oppressed. Mansor, being defirous of applying a Remedy to this Evil, affembled his Council, and therein proposed to restore Averroes, to which Overture the " Majority of the Assembly agreed; whereupon an Order was fent to him to return immediately to Morocco, to be there restored to his former Employment. Averroes, upon this Advice, set out that Moment, with his whole Family, for Morocco, and there spent the Remainder of his Days. He was buried in it, not far from the " Street of the Leather-dressers; and his Monument, with an Inscription upon it, was there feen dur-" ing

ing a long Course of Years. I must not omit the Answer he made to those who asked what Frame of Mind he entertained during the Persecution he laboured under. I was both pleased and displeased, replied he, with this State. It was a great Pleasure to me to be discharged from the laborious Toils to which those Men must submit who would acquit themselves justly of the Duties of the Employment I filled; but it vexed me not a little to see myself oppressed by false Witnesses. I did not wish, added he, to be restored to my Post; and did not re-assume the Functions of it, till my Innocence had been cleared *."

The first Time, dear Monceca, that I read this Relation of the fad Calamities in which Averroes was involved, I called to Mind those which so great a Number of the Learned suffered, with as little Shadow of Justice as this famous Arabian. I reflected on the difgraceful Posture in which he was fet at the Gate of the Mosque, I figured to myfelf Arnauld or Paschal, seated on the Steps in the Jesuits College, and there submitting to the Insults of every Member of the Society. If the Jesuits had found as easy an Opportunity, in Paris, of satiating their Vengeance as the Corduban Doctors, there is no Doubt but that the Anchorites of Port-Royal would have been fentenced to perform some Penance, perhaps more cruel than that of the Mahommedaris just mentioned.

No Hatred is so dangerous as that which springs from the Feuds and Dissensions of learned Men, and of Divines especially; and there is no Sort of Excess to which the last mentioned will not give into, when not restrained by a superior Power. They set every Engine at work to ruin their

Bayle's Dict. Rem. [M] of the Article Averroes. Adver-

Adversaries; and employ, without the least Scruple, Calumny, Falshood, and the blackest Frauds, to compass their Ends. Though the samous Arnauld's Enemies could not enjoy the Pleasure of forcing him to submit to the Stigma inflicted on Averroes, they endeavoured to destroy his Reputation by defamatory Libels; and what a Flood of abfurd Calumnies were vented on that Occasion? According to them, that illustrious Man was a Wizard, and in great Favour at the Court of Beelzebub, whom he used to address, every now and then, in the most eloquent Speeches. It is certain, fays an Author *, that Mr. de Maupas, Bishop of Evreux, affirmed to many Persons, that he had been informed by a Convert from Witchcraft, that he had often feen Mr. Arnauld at their diabolical, nocturnal Meetings, with a Princess of the Blood; and that Mr. Arnauld there made a very beautiful Speech to the Devil. Some other of this Divine's Enemies published t, that he had declared himself Head of the Waldenses, and was become the mighty Protector of that People I. They transformed this Divine into

+ See Questions curieuses, pag. 4.

^{*} The Author of the IVth Case of Jansenius's Relations, Page 2.

[†] Nos infra inscripti Superiores Conventuales Regularium in Civitate Leodiensi, certiorati de Conventiculis quæ babentur apud certum Arnoldum Dostrinam suspectam spargentem, censemus D. Vicarium charitative certiorandum, ut similia conventicula dissipare, & prohibere non dedignetur, etiam cum disto Arnoldo Conversationes. Datum in Conventu Minorum hac 25 Augusti 1600; ad quem essestum commissimus R. P. M. Ludovicum Lamet Priorem Dominicanorum, ad Nomine nostro accedendum D. Vicarium, & exponendum Intentionem nostram. Questions curieuses, Page 228. Heavens! what Latin have we here! It is indeed worthy the Enemies of that learned Man,

the General of an Army; and this at a Time when they were fenfible that their Calumnies would be intirely defeated. They did not value, though afterwards a Discovery was made of their Frauds, if

they did but prevail during fome Time.

Six Friars of Liege did all that lay in their Power. to cause this renowned Divine to meet with the fame cruel Treatment which Averroes had met with in Morocco. The Father Guardiane of the Recollets and of the Franciscans, the Priors of the Austin Friars and of the Dominicans, and the Vicar of the Carmelites, with the Rector of the Jesuits at their Head, behaved in the same Manner as the Doctors of Corduba, animated by Ibnu the Physician. These Friars drew up a Petition, in which they required to have one Arnauld excluded from all civil Society, for entertaining Opinions pernicious to it. O tempora! O mores! Dear Monceca, is it not shocking that fix despicable Friars should be fo amazingly infolent, as to prefume to fpeak of one of the most learned Men in the World, as though they were talking of some Vagrant, or of one refembling themselves? With what Indignation will Posterity one Day hear, that this illustrious Divine was pointed at by the Name of one Arnauld? If any Circumstance can lessen the Surprize, it will be their reflecting, that so great a Number of illustrious Persons have been persecuted by Adversaries equally ignorant and hot-headed.

Literati, in the present Age, have been oppressed, if we trace this Matter still higher, it will appear that Merit has always been obnoxious to the Attacks of Envy. Men of Letters do not commonly meet with the greatest Enemies among Persons who profess a different Religion from themselves, but among those of their own Persuasion. Mr.

Glaude

Claude never attempted to attack Mr. Arnauld's Morals; this being done by none but a Herd of Scriblers among the Molinists; if we except one Protefant Minister, whose fraudulent Writings were disowned even by his Brethren *. Melanchthon met with more cruel Adversaries among the Lutherans than among the Papists themselves. His calm and peaceful Disposition drew upon him the Hatred of all the Rigorists; and became so grievous to him. that he confidered Death as a Bleffing, as that only could secure him from Envy. We are told by the Author of his Life, that the Jealoufy of his Enemies rose to so high a Pitch, and that they took such uncommon Pains to ruin him, that he expected every Week to be turned out of his Professorship which he yet enjoyed forty Years +.

Melanchthon's unhappy Destiny puts me in Mind of that of Abelard, one of the most illustrious Revivers of the Sciences, and who was contemporary with Averroes. How grievous were the Misfortunes and Calamities he laboured under, occasioned by the Machinations of the Priefts, both Secular and Regular! They forced him, without permitting him to fay a Word in his own Defence, to commit publicly his Books, with his own Hands, to the Flames. The Hatred of some Authors pursued this great They charged Man several Years after his Death. him with continuing a shameful Correspondence with Heloife, after the dreadful Adventure which prevented his having an Opportunity to indulge himcelf in it, and they affirmed that he had tafted as

L'Esprit de Mr. Arnauld, composé par Mr. Jurieu.

† Publice non dubitavit affirmare: Ego jam sum bic,
Dei beneficio, quadraginta annos; & nunquam potui dicere,
aut certus esse, me per unam septimanam mansurum esse.
Camerarius in Vita Melancht. pag. 206.

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great Delight in the mere Shadow of Pleasure, as in the Pleasure itself *.

How violent, dear Monceca, must the Hatred be which arises among the Literati, since they do not revere even the Ashes of the Dead; and cruelly attack Heroes who, being dead, are consequently denied the Opportunity of defending themselves?

In how many new Libels do malevolent Writers daily asperse the Memory of Claude, Arnauld, Bayle, Montagne, Abarbanel, Maimonides, Luther, Calvin, St. Auflin, St. Ferom, and many other illustrious Personages, of all Religions? But surely, would it not be possible for such Writers to censure whatever they find amiss in their Writings, and at the same Time, do Justice to their Persons and their Works? Though I am a Few, dear Monceca, I yet shall be far from afferting, that St. Austin was a mere Scribler, Arnauld an ignorant Creature, Luther a Blockhead; Calvin, a Man of no Capacity, and Bourdaloue, a Writer who infected Mankind with the most pernicious Morality: And indeed I should blush was Prejudice to carry me to such violent Lengths. I certainly entertain Opinions different from most of the Jansenist or Molinist Doctors, but then I do Justice to the eloquent and persuasive Manner in which they maintain their Doctrines; and fo far from aspering them, I behave in the same Manner as a Judge with regard to a Pleader, whose Cause he may condemn, though he admires the Genius and Learning employed by him in defending it.

Take Care of thy Health, dear Monceca, live

contented

Ex quibus omnibus liquet quam frigida fuerit Petri Abelardi Apologia, cum redargutus de nimia jamiliaritate cum Amicâ quidem sua Heloisa, & aliis Monialibus Paraclitensibus, reposuit Eunuchos, qualis ipse factus erat, tuto absque omni periculo posse versari cum Fæminis. Theoph. Raynaud, de Eunuchis, pag. 148.

contented and happy, and shew a perfect Impartiality towards Mankind in general.

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LETTER CLXVI.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

T is now two Days, dear Monceca, fince I arrived in Tunis, a City built about nine Miles from the Ruins of Carthage. It does not stand on the Sea-Shore, a Circumstance that has secured it from being bombarded, and the Attacks which Algiers and Tripoli have suffered from the English and French. Such Vessels as go to Tunis, cast Anchor in a spacious Road, defended by the Forts of Gouletta, which are very ill fortified; and built at the Mouth of a small Canal, which forms a Communication between the Sea and a Lake, an hundred Paces from which stands the City of Tunis. Its Situation is far less agreeable than that of Carthage, which was built on a Neck of Land that stretches into the Sea, and forms a Cape that still bears the Name of that ancient Commonwealth. I myfelf have visited the Ruins of it. Among the amazing Heap of Stones we meet with feveral subterraneous Places. The most intire of this Kind we see is a Refervoir composed of fixteen or seventeen Cisterns, filled with Water for the Service of the Public. These Cisterns are joined together by a common Arch, which also covers two Galleries on the Sides of these wide subterraneous Places; and which such who went to draw Water used to walk upon. Some thousand Paces from the Ruins of the City stand feveral very beautiful Aqueducts, of a confiderable Length, Length, and which anciently reached to the public Cifterns. There, dear Monceca, stands all that now remains of haughty Carthage, once the Rival to Rome. Some Years hence it will be scarce posfible to discover the Place where it stood, if the modern Geographers do not take Care to point it out,

for the Use of Posterity.

We have but a very faint Idea of those Cities that once were the most renowned: What we know concerning them is fo confused, and intermixed with fo many fabulous Particulars, that it is impossible, in the midst of this Chaos and Confusion, to discover the Truth. Ancient Babylon is known to us only by the Relation of some old Writers, who do not clear up half our Doubts; and not the least Footsteps are now remaining of that once so renowned City.

We are quite ignorant of the Manner of building used by Mankind, (the Egyptians excepted) in the Infancy of the World. We must go back to the Greeks and Romans to discover the Cement, used for those Materials employed in the Building of public Edifices. The ancient Persians, Ethiopians, &c. used to build without Cement, Mortar, &c. and merely by fixing together Stones that were perfectly joined, as appears from feveral of their Edifices *. We are altogether in the Dark as to that Particular. and shall never be able to gratify our Curiofity in this Respect, as the Accounts now remaining of these Things are very obscure, and consequently give little Satisfaction to such Persons as desire to have a clear Knowledge of Matters. Besides, the Lights we may gather from the Ruins that now exist are fometimes fallacious, Time having pulverized certain Parts of the Stone; and we possibly may consider as Mortar the Sand feen in the feveral Places

^{*} The Arena at Nimes are built in that Manner.

where the Stones join. In fine, though certain Edifices may have been built with a Substance sit to join the Stones together, we yet are utterly in the Dark with regard to the Manner of composing this Cement, and a thousand sabulous Particulars are related on that Head.

Another Difficulty that occurs in the Discoveries attempted to be made, by the Ruins found in the Fields, where ancient Cities of Renown formerly flood, is, the strong Probability we have to believe, that all the Ruins in Question are of a later Date than the Manner of building which the Curious are in Search of. The principal Cities of Antiquity were destroyed several Times, and most of them rebuilt under the Romans. The Ruins now feen of ancient Troy are not the Remains of the Palace of Hector and Priam. Those Princes were not powerful enough to build Edifices which contained fo valt a Number of marble Columns as are now found in the Fields of Troy. To be perfuaded of this Truth, we need but read Homer's Iliad; for though a Poet always magnifies Objects, the Instant we cast our Eyes on the prodigious Remains of the Marble now scattered up and down the Fields of Troy, and the amazing Numbers that have been carried away from it, we are immediately persuaded, that the Ruins of the famous Ilium are not those which exist in this Age.

It is certain that the Romans, who either imagined, or were extremely defirous of having it believed, that they sprung from the Trojans, rebuilt the City of Troy. Augustus caused a great many magnificent Edifices to be raised there, on the Ruins of the old City. They there built a new Ilium, which has long since, by the Injury of Time, fallen again to Ruin; and if we now meet with ancient Monuments there, these ought to be ascribed to the Romans, rather than to the ancient Trojans. Perhaps, dear Mon-

ceca, the same Observation ought to be extended to the Ruins of Carthage; and the Monuments which are there seen in this Age, were possibly not built by the Romans, till after they had possessed themselves

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The calamitous Fate which so many proud Cities have met with, Part whereof have been destroyed by the Mahommedans, makes me frequently reslect on the Prejudice they did to the polite Arts and Sciences. How great a Number of Edifices were demolished by them, and how many ancient Statues broke to Pieces; to how desolate a Condition did they reduce all Greece, which contained a greater Quantity of valuable Monuments than all the rest of the World? How could the Nazarene Princes leave that Country a Prey to

the Cruelty and Fury of these Barbarians!

Had the Turks made their Incursions into Greece, at the same Time when the Goths, the Huns and the Vandals facked Rome; and made as bad Havock in the West, as the Mahommedans did in the East, I should not have wondered had the European Monarchs abandoned Constantinople to Mahommed II. that this barbarous Prince should invade the Eastern Empire in the fifteenth Century; that after poffeffing himself of the City of Constantinople, he should be upon the Point of marching to Rome, in order to lay wafte and deffroy the only Monuments which had escaped the Fury of Ignorance; this is what I can never reflect upon, without bewailing the Blindness of the Nazarenes, who, being at that Time disunited, exerted their utmost Endeavours in order to pull one another to Pieces.

It is certain, dear Monceca, that if, instead of the chimerical Projects of the Crusaders, the European Princes had contented themselves with driving the Turks intirely out of Europe, they would have easily succeeded on that Occasion. This ought to have

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been their fole Object; for, to attempt to pursue them in Asia, or to found a Kingdom among them in the midst of Africa, is a Project equally ridiculous and extravagant, and impossible to be put in Execution. All these Attempts have never served, nor will ever serve, to any other Purpose but to prove the Destruction of a great Number of Nazarenes, by the Fatigue of their Marches, and the Inclemency of the Climate, which is productive of

contagious Distempers.

This naturally puts me in Mind, dear Monceca, of the Storm that is ready to break over the Heads of the Mahommedans. If the famous Alliance that is talked of should take Place, and the Emperor, the Venetians, the Poles, and Muscovites should unite together, the Turks will be in greater Danger than ever; and should the Nazarene Princes continue in Peace two Campaigns longer, the Ottoman Power must necessarily have such a Defeat as it will be impossible for it ever to recover. In the last War which the Turks had with the Empire, that fingle Crown dispossessed them of the two strongest Holds upon their Frontiers, and reduced them to the Necessity of making an ignominious Peace. What will become of them, as they now are obliged to defend themselves against the Muscovites, who will make a powerful Diversion, as well as against the Poles, whom they have as much Reason to dread? It may be affirmed, dear Monceca, that should the Ottoman Empire get clear of this War without fustaining a confiderable Lofs, nothing will be able to shake its Power. But this will scarce be possible; and I do not doubt but that, before this Year is ended, fuch an Event will be feen, as may be worthy of being transmitted to latest Posterity.

I confess to thee, dear Monceca, that though it ought to be altogether indifferent to me, whether I depend

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on the Nazarenes or Turks, I yet cannot forbear being greatly interested in Favour of the former, for the Sake of the Arts and Sciences. Every Stronghold that is won by the Imperialifts, every Battle they gain, is a Victory gained over Ignorance. I confider the Germans as the Missionaries of Reason and Philosophy. What a Triumph would it be for Learning, in Case a Bookseller, some Years hence, should offer to Sale, in the Hippodrome, the Works of Labritz and of Sir I aac Newton; and that Des Cartes and Gaffendi should appear in Places, where nothing was feen to triumph but the Writings of fome wretched Turkish Divines! Dear Monceca, fo propitious a Circumstance as this may one Day be brought about; it depending intirely on the Unity of some Nazarene Powers. Must Politics be always the Ruin of Mankind! I am of Opinion, dear Monceca, that the same Interests which secure certain petty Princes of their Dominions, prevent the Ruin of the Mahommedans. Great Monarchs are not very well pleafed to fee a Conqueror aggrandize himself, and become more formidable. Many Powers would not be willing to have the Turkish Empire in Europe totally deflroyed, as this would not fuit their Interest. The Love they bear to Religion is not confiderable enough to outweigh political Reafons. Roman Pontiffs have been feen to unite with those very Turks against whom Rome had so often preached Crujades; but Politics change with the Times; or new Seasons occasion different Cares, which is the Motto of all the Princes in Question. To return to Tunis.

In this City, as in Algiers, there is a Dey; but he is without Authority, and the real Sovereign is the Bey. Formerly the last mentioned was only a Commander of the Militia; but, during the various

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Revolutions which happened in this Kingdom, the Beys seized upon the supreme Authority; and they now appoint the Dey: And it is also in their Power to depose, in the most absolute Manner, and whenever they think proper, those whom they have

raised to that Dignity.

The Moors, or ancient Inhabitants of the Country, are far less unhappy in this Country than in Algiers. The Beys behave with great Kindness towards them, in order to secure themselves against the restless Spirit of the Turks; and by this Means they have introduced a Kind of Equilibrium, which keeps the Country at Peace. The last Bey, who died a few Years since, had gained very great Advantages by the Regard he shewed to the Moors. He would fain have freed them intirely from their Subjection to the Turks; but was afraid of attempting to execute so difficult an Enterprize, which might have been attended with the most fatal Consequences.

A very remarkable Circumstance in this Prince is, that he had scarce any Buttocks; at least that he had next to none; those he had once having been cut off, to prevent the ill Consequences of a very severe Bastinado, which he had received on his Posteriors, when he was but an Officer under the Bey. Two hundred Strokes had been given him; and there had been laid on to very floutly, that the Surgeons were forced to cut off his Buttocks, to prevent a Mortification. This rigorous Punishment was of the happiest Consequence afterwards; for, upon his Accession to the Throne, he was senfible, by the Affliction it gave him to be reduced to fo unhappy a Condition, how useful Buttocks are to Mankind. This prompted him to abolifh a Punishment by which he had been so ill-fated as to lose his own; so that, during the twenty Years

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that he reigned in Tunis, every one's Posteriors were secured from the least Insult. His Successor, infensible to an Insurance which he himself never laboured under, had not the like Compassion; by which Means the Custom is revived of giving the Bastinado upon the Posteriors, though the Soles of the Feet are usually punished on these Occasions. Do not imagine, dear Monceca, that what I here tell thee is a Fiction; nothing is truer; and it is no extraordinary Thing for a Punishment to be disused, when abhorred by the Sovereign.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Monceca; live contented and happy; and may Prosperity attend upon all thy

Affairs.

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LETTER CLXVII.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

I N failing from Tunis, dear Monceca, to Tripoli, I was forced, by the Winds, to put in for some Days to the Island of Gerbe. Near the Castle of this Island I saw a Monument of the Cruelty and Fury of Mankind. It is a Pyramid, thirty Feet high, and upwards of an hundred and thirty round; and serves as the Sepulchre of such Nazarenes as were butchered by the Soldiers of Orcan, who won this Country from the Nazarenes. This Pyramid is formed of Free-stone half-way; but the Remainder is made of nothing but the Bones and Sculls of Men, piled one upon the other. The Turks take a haughty Satisfaction in beholding this Monument of Hatred and Barbarity. They declare, that as Vol. V.

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the Triumphs which they have gained over the Nazarenes, are fo many evident Testimonies of the Superiority of their Religion, which God has vifibly favoured in all Ages, it is their Duty to eternize the Remembrance of it. The Success of Arms is one of the strongest Arguments which the Mahommedans employ, to prove the Truth and Purity of their Tenets *. Since God, fays they, is the Author of all propitious Events, and that nothing comes to pass, but as he is pleased to give Liberty for it, is it not manifest that he approves of the Zeal we burn with, to carry his Religion into all Countries? And are not the Blessings he indulges us, and the Victories we have obtained by his Succour, over so great a Number of Nazarene Nations, an infallible Proof that the Koran came from Heaven?

This false Prejudice imbibed by the Turks, makes them behold the Jews with a most contemptuous Eye. They reproach us with being visibly abandoned by Heaven, as having no fixed Abode upon the Earth, and having no Monarch of our own Nation to govern and desend us. Nothing can be so ridiculous, dear Monceca, as that pretended Proof of the Truth of the Koran. If the Extent of a Religion, and the Triumphs it has gained, were Proofs of its Excellency, the Turks would be forced

^{*} Secundum Motivum est Victoria eorum continua contra Christianos; quod aliquot multum movet; unde Victores se nominant, & gloriantur, quosi Victores totius Mundi. Orant enim pro Victoribus specialiter in omnibus Congregationibus suis, præsertim in continuis post Comestionem Gratiarum Actionibus. Superbiunt insuper, & Christianos Fæminas despiciendo nominant, & se Viros eorum; & ut ad boc magis ac magis incitentur, Antecessorum Victorias describunt, decantant, laudant, ac præconisant. Septem-Castrensis de Moribus Turcarum, Cap. XI. pag. 40, apud Hottingerum, Historiæ Orientalis, p. 138.

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to confess, that when ferusalem was destroyed by the Babyloniane, the Deity beheld Paganism with a favourable Eye. But it was monftroufly abfurd to affert fuch an Opinion; and every Religion that can ascribe the Progress it has made only to Oppressions and Murders, is rather an infernal Enthusiasm than a celestial Doctrine.

The Methods proper for infufing Instruction into Mankind are so natural, that those Persons must entertain very pernicious Opinions, who would endeavour to persuade them from Motives of Fear. No Talk is easier, than that of bringing back the most erroneous Minds to sensible Truths, when eafy and gentle Methods are employed; when this is done without the least Views of Self-interest; and when such Expedients are made Use of to point out their Prejudices to them, as plainly thew that the Instructor is prompted by no other Motives than

those of Candor and philosophical Sincerity.

I do not make one Moment's Doubt of it, dear Monceca, but that if the Spanish and Portuguese Inquifitors were not blinded by Avarice and Ambition, the fews would foon be able to make them confess, that it is not only repugnant to the Dictates of Humanity, but also contrary to the Will of the Creator, for them to imprison, torment and burn a Set of ill-fated Creatures, whose only Crime is their continuing in the Belief of Opinions which they looked upon as true, and had been imbibed by them from their most tender Infancy. Is it not shocking, dear Monceca, that they should put to Death a Man who never hurt any of his Fellow-citizens, or did the least Prejudice to Society? May it not be justly affirmed, that this is following the Example of the Turks, and employing Expedients of every Kind to propagate a Religion?

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If we may credit a Nazarene Author, the Inquisitors are prompted by political Reasons to act in the same Manner as the Mahommedans. As they have corrupted the Nazarene Doctrine by the Fables introduced by them into it, they are reduced to the Necessity of employing as many Stratagems and Artifices to establish them, as to inculcate a Belief of the Koran. It is certain that the Doctrine which is preached by certain Nazarenes, in the most remote Countries, is so very absurd, that the meanest Persons, who have but a just Idea of the Unity of God, must be shocked at it; and mone but ignorant Heathens could be made to swallow it down.

For these many Years, a considerable Number of Popish Divines continue to inveigh, in the strongest Terms, against the Jesuits settled in China. They reproach them with making an odd Mixture of the Nazarene and Heathen Systems of Belies, and with making the Nations whom they were sent to instruct acquainted only with the Exterior, and the Superfluities, as it were, of Religion. The Protestant Divines go still greater Lengths in their Invectives. These, possibly, may be exaggerated; for the Hatred they bear to the other Sectaries raises a Mist before their Eyes, and frequently magnifies the several Objects.

Be this as it will, here follows a Passage from a Man of prodigious Learning, who was a great Enemy to the Jesuits. The fesuits, says he, are not pleased with Tradition, such as it appears; it destroying their loose Morality, and overthrowing the Doctrines of the Romish Church; such in particular as those superstitious Fathers attempt most zealously to

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^{*} La Croze, Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets, Tome I. page 240.

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establish; and, to propagate which, they travel to the most far-distant Countries The following Passage may serve to give an Idea of their Religion. . . . It is extracted from the History of a Christian Chinese Lady, whose Director Father Couplet the Jesuit had been. St. Ignatius, says he, St. Francis Xavier, St. Candida, whose Name she bore, St. Monica, St. Urfula, and her Companions, were the most tender Objects of her Piety Her Faith was so lively with Regard to the Esticaciousness of Holy-water, and the Ashes of consecrated Palms, that she used to consider them as universal Specifics for the healing Diseases of every Kind. Is not this a very judicious and well-grounded Faith and Piety! and it is St. Ignatius, St. Urfula, Holy-Water, and the Agnus Dei, which prompt all the Jesuits to cross the Seas, and make them undertake Juch hazardous Voyages, to Substitute a new System of Heathen Principles in the Room of that which has prevailed, from the most remote Times, among the Chinefe.

These Reproaches, dear Monceca, against the Missionaries of China are exceedingly strong. I know not whether there be any just Grounds for them; but this I will presume to fay, that, if there are, Mankind are much more obliged to the Mahommedans than to the Jesuits; fince the former inculcate, at least, a Religion, which admits of no other Worship but that of the Deity; and that the latter substitute new Heathen Errors, in the Rooin of those imbibed by the Nations whom they pretend to instruct. This Opinion of mine ought to be thought by the Nazarenes, of what Sect foever, the less extraordinary, as one of the greatest Philosophers of these later Times did not scruple to affert, that we are obliged to the Turks for making a great Number of Idolaters acquainted with the Deity.

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Deity. The Mahommedan System, says he, is a Kind of Deism, joined to the Belief of some Incidents, and the Observation of some Ceremonies, which Mahommed and his Followers added, sometimes very improperly, to the Religion of Nature, which yet pleased certain Nations. We owe to the Mahommedans, in many Parts of the World, the Destruction of the Heathen Belief; and it would prove one Step towards leading Mankind to a more subtime Religion, was it preached in a proper Manner; and if the ill-grounded Prejudices of the Mahommedans did not prove a

great Obstacle to it *.

I am certain that all fuch as shall examine this Philotopher's Opinion without Prejudice, will confefs, that if the Jesuits really preach, in China, fuch a Morality, and fuch Doctrines, as are afcribed to them, it would be better, in order to extirpate the Heathen System, that twenty Dervises should let out from Constantinople, than an hundred Jesuits from Rome and Paris. But I will own to thee, dear Monceca, it is my Opinion, that the Enemies of the Jesuits exaggerate Matters greatly; and that, in the Account those Enemies have given of the motley Religion composed of that of the Nazarenes and Christians, which the Jesuits endeavour to establish in India, a great Number of Falsities are inferted; though it is impossible but there must be fome Truth, to give a Foundation for the Complaints daily made in fo many Books, viz of the fervile Regard which the Jesuits pay to certain Parts of the Chinese Worship.

Now I am speaking of the many Reproaches which are levelled against those Fathers, I must observe to thee, Friend Monceca, that I saw in a defart Island called Lampedussa, a poor Hermit, who

^{*} Lettre de Mr. Leibnitz à Mr. la Croze. Ibid. p. 164.

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has compassed what the whole Society of the Jefuits could never effect. This Island was depopulated by Barbaroffa, who made all the Inhabitants of it Slaves, and carried them to Tripoli; fo that it is now inhabited by not one human Creature, except the Hermit in Question. He officiates in a Nazarene Chapel, and does the same in a little Mosque, in which stands the Sepulchre of one of the Cherifs. Although this Hermit be a Papiff, he nevertheless is equally careful of the Nazarene and Mahammedan Churches, and thus unites the two Benefices. Such Turks and Christians as put in for Water, at the Island in Question, leave him the feveral Things he may stand in Need of. No Person has yet obliged him to declare, to which of these two Chapels he is the most devoutly attached; hitherto, no Jansenist Divine has taken it into his Head to wtite against him, in order to prove, that he ought not to sweep, with the same Broom, the Cherif's Mosque, and the Chapel of our Lady of Good-voyage. Had I not therefore Reason to say, good Monceca, that he has accomplished more than the whole Society of the Jesuits had yet been able to perform? But I have spoken enough of the Jefuits.

I return to my Observations with Regard to Tripoli, whither I have been arrived a Week. This City is far less considerable than Algiers, and not comparable to Tunis. The Government is the same with that of the rest of the maritime Cities of Africa. The Moors are in as little Credit here as at Algiers. The Nazarene Renegadoes enjoy the greatest Share of the Authority of any Sect of People in this Country, and fill the chief Employments; and indeed there is a vast Number of Renegadoes here, and I have conversed with many of them. They all appeared to be as ignorant of the Religion

Religion they had embraced, as of that quitted by them. Most of the Persons in Question had been fo poorly educated, that they were scarce acquainted with the Rudiments of their Belief; and, indeed, they affign the most triffing Reasons possible for cuitting their Religion. Whereas, in other Countries, Slaves are commonly prompted, from the ill. Treatment they meet with from their Patrons, to turn Mahommedans; they here, on the contrary, are brought over by Gentleness. Of all the Corfairs of Barbary none are less cruel, though none are so much addicted to Theft, as the People of Tripoli. This Crime is tolerated in their City. A Child is not punished who steals any Thing artfully in the Streets; and the only Thing allowed the Person upon whom an Attempt of this Kind has been made, in case he catches the young Knave in the Fact, is to drub him a little, in order that he may learn to be more dextrous another Time. Most Foreigners who, being unacquainted with their Dexterity, walk half an Hour in the Streets of Tripoli, mis their Handkerchiefs at their Return home. This blind Toleration of Theft met with Partizans among those who are Slaves to the chimerical Ideas of some ancient Legislators, Were these People of Tripoli acquainted with the History of ancient Greece, I do not doubt but they would be delighted to find, that Lycurgus had made, in Sparta, a direct Law of what they are contented merely to tolerate and diffemble. And indeed what would a Corfair, who should read the following Passage from Plutarch, say? " Among the young " Spartans, the tallest and most robust used to carry the Logs of Wood defigned for making the Fire to dress Supper; whilft those of the least Stature, and the weakest, used to carry Herbs, which they Role out of the Gardens and Dining-" rooms

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rooms, whither they always crept as artfully as " possible; and, whenever they were catched, they "were whipped, as not having looked out sharp " enough, or done their Business in a bungling, " Manner. They likewise used to steal all the " Victuals they could lay their Hands on; and ne-" ver failed to grasp very artfully at any Opportu-" nity, when the Persons, who ought to have look-" ed after them, were either asleep, or negligent. "In case of their being discovered, they were not " only scourged, but also kept from Victuals; and, "when this was afterwards allowed them, it was in a very sparing Manner; in order that the Ne-" ceffity they should be reduced to of providing for " themselves, might make them bolder and more " artful *."

Was not this a most excellent School for Youth? Had Cartouche established Laws of Discipline for young Thieves, must they not have resembled those of Lycurgus? How much ought Mankind to blush at the Errors and Follies of those on whom they often bestowed the Title of Wise! Most of those who had acquired the Reputation of having exalted Genius's, and looked upon themselves as qualified to lay down Rules for the Conduct of their Fellow-creatures, would have deserved, had Justice been done them, to be confined in Mad-houses.

I do not hint barely at those Fools, in whom the Heathens reposed a blind Considence; but likewise at those who, during some Centuries, have introduced, among the Nazarenes, such a Multitude of ridiculous Customs which Superstition has rendered facred. Is it not equally stupid to confine, in a numberless Multitude of Houses, Crouds of indo-

Vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque, traduits par ... Dacier, Tom. I. pag. 249.

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lent Wretches who are of no Service to a Country; and to exercise them in kissing the Ground, in scourging, and letting themselves be over-grown with Filth, as to bring up Boys in the Art of Thieving with Dexterity? What a delightful Parallel might be made between Lycurgus and Francis & Assis? It is certain, however, that the Greek would appear to greater Advantage than the Italian; because, among the Laws enjoined by him some are excellent, and outweigh the bad ones; whereas the Patriarch of the Franciscans only made it his Endeavour to shew the Heights of Frenzy to which the human Mind will sometimes proceed.

Cicero, worthy Monceca, used to say anciently, That he could not think how it was possible for two Augurs to meet, and look at one another, without laughing. I must confess, that it is still more strange to me, how two Cardinals, or two Roman Pontists, if they resect on the numberless Multitude of idle, dissolute Wretches subordinate to them, can keep a grave Countenance. Should a Philosopher be asked, which is the most ridiculous to believe, either that the Deity declares his Will by the Flight of Birds, or is desirous of being honoured by Scourgings, fantastical Habits, Idleness, Avarice, Ignorance, and Debauchery? I am persuaded such a Person would say, that it is less absurd to give Credit to the vain Practices of the Augurs, than to the Efficacy of the

Monastic Ceremonies.

Preserve thy Health, dear Monceca; live contented and happy; and be not so long silent for the suture.

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LETTER CLXVIII.

AARON MONCECA, to JACOB BRITO.

THY Letters, dear Brito, are equally instructive and entertaining; and I was utterly unacquainted with a great Number of Particulars relating to the Manners of the Africans. I wish that the Things I communicate to thee may please as much as those which thou informest me of.

I was not surprized at the frequent Revolutions thou relatest, and which commonly prove the Ruin of the African Princes. They happen in Nations that are much more polished and civilized than the Kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. With how many Storms, for upwards of these two Hundred Years, has England been buffeted? In how many Calamities was France involved, from the Reign of Henry Ii. to that of Lewis XIV? Were not two Monarchs affaffinated in that Kingdom, one after another; and did not the French perpetrate the same Crimes. as the Algerines? The English went still farther, they aggravating Guilt and Parricide with Contempt, executing their King publicly on a Scaffold.

This horrid Tragedy was perpetrated by Men born among the Dregs of the People. The Sixteen, who were at the Head of this Faction, were a Set of mean Wretches, who, in Times of Peace, would not have dared to look a common Magistrate in the Face; and were Oliver now living, he would think himself happy in being the lowest Member of

the House of Commons.

Things, that determine with Regard to the Peace of Governments, and the Authority of Kings. The most trifling Circumstance may, in a Season of the utmost Tranquillity, give Rife to a violent Sedition. At other Times, the Attempts of the best concerted Cabals are deseated; and the Machinations against the Authority of Sovereigns only make it

more despotic and formidable.

Civil Wars and Diffensions break out at a Time when they are least expected, and cease when they are thought to be in the Midst of their Carecr. Had any Person declared, in a prophetic Way, during the Reign of Henry II, that France was going to be involved in the most fatal Troubles; that it would perpetrate the most horrid Crimes; would affaffinate its Kings; that the Majority of its Nobles, conspiring with the Priests. and Friars, would drive the Royal Family from the Throne, to bestow it on a foreign House: Had any Person, I say, wentured to make such a prophetic Declaration, they would have looked. upon him as a Madman, whose Mind was a Prey to the blackest Frenzy. But on the other Hand. if, a little after the Murder of Henry III, when all Things feemed to conspire to the total Ruin of France, another Person had declared, that the Royal Family would be feated more firmly than ever upon the Throne; and that the Spaniards, who governed and conducted the Parifians, would foon tremble in Madrid, at feeing the Thunder ready to crush them; this second Prophet would have been confidered as a Sybarite, intoxicated with the pleafing Ideas of his deluded Imagination. He would not have been believed any more than the pretended Enthusiast above hinted at, who foretold such fatal Catastrophes, as there was scarce any Proof

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Probability of their ever coming to pass. But the Event has shewn, that People would have been in the Wrong, had they not given Credit to the diffe-

rent Predictions of these two Prophets.

The sudden and unexpected Events, which happened in the past Ages, ought to shew the Possibility of such as may happen hereaster. There is no Country in Europe, how calm and undisturbed soever it may be now, but, fifty Years hence, may be involved in as many Troubles, and those as frequent, as the Feuds which bring about so many Revolutions in the African Kingdoms. Whenever I am informed, that some unexpected Sedition is broke out in a Country, this does not give me the least Surprize. On the contrary, I resect that such as appear to enjoy the utmost Tranquillity, are perhaps upon the Point of being obnoxious to the same sad Fate.

In all Countries the Seeds of the Passions, in the human Mind, are the same; and the only Art is to know how to make them take Root, and sprout forth; for, this being done, the wished for Fruit may be expected from them. A Frenchman or a German would go as violent Lengths as an Algerine, if excited by Things that make a strong Impression upon their Minds. The Africans rife up in Rebellion against their Princes, from a Supposition that they are bad Governors; act contrary to the Laws: and endeavour to inrich themselves at the Expence of their Subjects, &c. Now the Europeans take up Arms against their Sovereigns, when they are strongly perfuaded that these are actuated by the same tyrannical Motives, This is the common Pretence, with the Addition of that of Religion, which Rebels have made a Handle of in all Ages. The Enemies of Henry III. and those of Charles I. and James II. had no other. And such Rebels as shall hereafter

hereafter take up Arms against their Princes, will employ the same, they being the most specious, and consequently the most capable of making an Im-

pression upon the Minds of the People.

The Europeans, dear Brito, are not quite so easily stirred up as the Algerines; but when there arise, among the former, any Men who have Art enough to seduce and impose upon them, they will go as violent Lengths as the Africans. I will again observe, that it is sirmly my Opinion, that those who have the Talent to impose artfully upon Mankind, according to their various Capacities, and to snatch at every Opportunity, may rouze them to Guilt of any Kind. But if the Situation of Things is not propitious, the utmost Subtlety of the human Mind

would exert its Endeavours to no Purpose.

When we inquire into the various Revolutions which have happened in Europe, it appears that Fortune and the Situation of Affairs always befriended the Prudence and Intrepidity of those who brought those Revolutions about. If the League became fo formidable to the French Monarchs, we must ascribe it to the Disposition in which the Minds of the People were in at that Time. Nation had long been apprehensive, that the Religion which had devolved to them from their Forefathers would be totally abolished; and they were prompted to take up Arms from a Principle of Conscience. Under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, the Leader of a Party who had as great Abilities, and was as much the Darling of the People. as the Duke of Guife, would have made the Parisions attempt the same Things, from Views of Interest, as they had formerly been prompted to from those of Religion.

If ever France, fince the Minory of Lewis XIV, had Cause to be apprehensive of a dangerous Revolution,

lution, it was at the Time when Bank-bills were declared of no Value. To what Extremities may not those Persons be carried, who, in an Instant. lose the whole Fortune which themselves and their Ancestors had lawfully gained, by their Abilities and Pains? But the Fortune and good Genius of the Duke of Orleans got the better of the Juncture of Things; fo that he dispelled, with the greatest Eafe, all the Clouds that feemed to threaten the most dreadful Tempest. The People of Britany were punished for their Rebeltion; the Parliament of Paris was banished, a Circumstance that will scarcely be believed by Posterity; all Men bowed the Neck to the Yoke, because every one was wanting in Courage and Abilities; and there was not at that Time a Duke of Guife, a Prince of Conde, nor even a Cardinal de Rets.

I would advise, worthy Brita, all Monarchs, who are defirous of knowing whether they have any Thing to fear from their Subjects, on Account of a new Tax they want to lay, to inquire if there is not, in their Kingdom, some Person who knows how to make a proper Advantage of the People's Uneafiness. But if it appears that they have no Occasion. to be apprehensive of any fuch cunning Politician. they then may fafely put their Schemes in Execution. All such Subjects, how much soever they may fuffer, as are not animated by an able Leader. are made to groan in Chains. The Republic of Holland owes its Rife to the Princes of Orange; but the tyrannical Administration of Philip II. would never have loft him the Seven United Provinces, had not the Dutch and their Aflies been united, conducted, and supported by the Princes of the House of Nassau, and some other illustrious Personages.

It is therefore no Wonder, dear Brito, that in Algiers, and the other Kingdoms of Barbary, where there are fo many Persons who flatter themselves with the Hopes of obtaining the Crown, by the Destruction of him who wears it, there should be a confiderable Number of People, who endeavour to grasp at every Opportunity of annoying their Sovereign; and consequently, that many Revolutions should happen in this Kingdom. Ambitious Men are fired by the Hopes of rifing to the Throne, and making themselves the Head of a growing Party. The avaricious and cruel Administration of the African Princes inclines their Subjects to Insurrections and Rebellions, and consequently gives the Ambitious an Opportunity of exerting their Talents. Were the Ring-leaders of Rebellion rewarded with Thrones in Europe, possibly we might see as many tragical Events in that Quarter of the World, as in Africa.

The Courier, dear Brito, is fetting out, fo that I am obliged to end my Letter. Continue, I befeech thee, thy Correspondence. I hope, before thou arrivest in Constantinople, that thou wilt visit some other Nations, with whose Manners and Cuftoms thou mayest bring me acquainted. I reflect with infinite Pleasure on the many Particulars thou wilt instruct me in, when I shall have the Happiness to meet thee in Constantinople. I will bring thither, with me, a large Number of very valuable Books, which I purchased in Paris, London, and Amsterdam; I will add them to those thou hast collected in the chief Cities of Italy, and fuch Provinces of France as thou haft travelled over. Thou dost not tell me whether thou hast met with any in Portugal. Though good Books are very rarely found there, we yet, now and then, meet with some worthy the Perusal of the Learned. We will pass, good Brito,

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many happy Days in this common Library. Enjoy thy Health, and live happy and contented.

London, the . . .

LETTER CLXIX.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conftantinople.

HERE was lately published, dear Ifaac, a I new Book *, in which are some excellent Things. The Author warmly opposes the furprising Effects ascribed to the Strength of Imagination in pregnant He shews, by strong and convincing Arguments, that the Fœtus, in all its various States and Configurations, having, in itself, a distinct and separate Circulation of Blood; performing, by its own Power, all the Functions necessary to Life; being joined to the Womb no otherwise than as Plants are to the Earth; in fine, being a diffinct Ina dividuum, which is no Part of the Mother; It confequently cannot receive any Hurt merely by the Imagination, as it subfifts out of the Sphere of that Passion. This able Naturalist foresaw how much the Novelty of his Sentiments would surprise those who ascribe as much Power to the Imagination of breeding Women, as to the Deity itself. Nothing can be fo ridiculous, as to believe that the Imagination hinted at can create Pigs Heads, Calves Feet,

Intitled, A Physical Dissertation concerning the Strength of the Imagination, in Women with Child, upon the Fœtus, by James Blundel, M. D. and Member of the College of Physicians in London, &c.

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Monkeys Tails, the Marks of several Sorts of Fruit, &c. Was this true, what would become of Mankind? In five or fix Generations we should meet with nothing but mishapen human Creatures; for most Women, during their Pregnancy, apply themselves, one Time or other, strongly to the Contemplation of certain Objects. Unhappy therefore would those Children be, whose Mothers should cast their Eyes upon Apes, Affes, Turky Cocks, &c. Some would come into the World with long Pieces of Flesh dangling at their Noses; whilst others would appear with an Ape's Tail, or Ears refembling those of Midas. The Author in Question sets his Objection in its full Force, by proving how necessary it is that there should be a Stability in the Seeds of the different Species of Animals. He manifeftly proves, that mishapen Bodies, to which the Name of Monsters is given, are thus fashioned merely from natural Causes, which ought to be ascribed to the ordinary Laws of Motion, and not to the Effect of the Imagination. To justify this Opinion, he enquires into the Origin and Progress of the Production of Animals; and takes a View of the different Systems laid down by Men of great Learning, with Regard to this Operation of Nature; and opens with that of Dr. Harvey. "This Philosopher, " fays he, who has gained an immortal Name by " his Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, is " the first who pointed out the true Place where " the Chicken is formed, in the Sperm of the Egg. " - It is he also who found that all Animals, " without Exception, proceed from an Egg; and consequently all Generation by Putrefaction, ex " putri, is an erroneous Opinion. Harvey's System " was greatly improved by the many Experiments of Reignier de Graaf. He not only proved that " Eggs are the true and genuine Origin of all AniIt,

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" mals, as well oviparous as viviparous, but like-" wife that they exist in the Testicles of the Wo-" men before Conception; and that they become of prolific in the Fallopian Tubes, whence they " descend to the Bottom of the Womb. Leewen-" beeck has given a different Explication to this Myftery of Nature. He has discovered a great Number of Animalcules in the human Seed, where it is vaffly aftonishing to see a great Number of " little Worms, in the Form of Toads in Minia-" ture, fwimming up and down. These are so " extremely minute, that many thousand Millions of them put together are not so big as a Grain of " Sand, the Diameter whereof is not the hundreth " Part of an Inch. - It is plain that these Ani-" malcules are absolutely necessary for the Forma-" tion of the Fætus; it having been observed, that " a Man whose Seed has none of these diminutive "Toads, is no Ways qualified for Generation, " though he otherwise may seem robust, and free " from any Impersection. Leewenboeck has shewn " fo evidently this Truth, that it is now uncontro-" verted. - This Discovery seems, at first Sight, to destroy de Graaf's Hypothesis; - but they " may be reconciled, as Dr. Gardner has done, by " affirming, that the Egg is properly the Nell in which the Animalcule refides, and supports itself " for some Time. - These are the three most rational Systems that have been published con-" cerning Generation. - They all agree, that " the feveral Parts of the Fætus exist somewhere be-" fore Conception, upon which I would propose " these Questions: 1. By what Means the Imagi-" nation of the Mother is able inflantaneously, " without her Knowledge or Consent, and contra-" ry to her Inclination, to expunge the Lineaments or Features of the Fætus, that existed before " Conception, "Conception, — and produce in a Moment new Limbs, with new Joints and Veins, and new Glands with the lymphatic Vessels, &c. as is of- ten seen at the Birth of a Monster, whose Form, or the Structure of whose Body, is intirely un-

known to the Mother? 2. If the Opinion of Lecwenhoeck or Gardner is well grounded, how is the Mother's Imagination impowered to act up-

on the Fætus, that is derived from the Seed of Man; and which, consequently, is an Indivi-

duum distinct or separate from his *?

One of the principal Motives which prompts many Philosophers to reject a System, are the Changes that have been made in it, according as there may be Occasion to obviate the several Impersections perceived in it. These frequent Corrections are a Proof of the internal Defect which is inherent in the chief Subject. But no Opinion has varied more than that which allows an amazingly extensive Power to the Imagination of pregnant Women. The System of those who declare for the Power of the Imagination, fays the Author +, has changed " fo confiderably from Time to Time in some ve-" ry effential Points, that it is impossible the same Experiments should favour Affertions so contra-" dictory and repugnant to one another. The or principal Changes are, 1. These Affertors of the " Power of Imagination are not agreed about the Person upon whom the Imagination acts. 2. "They do not know at what Time the Imagination exerts its Force. 3. They dispute with re-" spect to the Extent of its Power; in a Word, their Opinion resembles a Hydra, that has but one Tail and many Heads. I confess that, in

† Chap. iii. p. 9, 13.

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^{*} Blundel's Differtation, p. 57, 64.

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" the present Age, the despotic Power of the Ima-" gination is lodged folely in the Mother's Brain; " and I am surprised that Women should be so weak as to own this, and thereby charge them-" felves unjustly with a Fault, which yet is very " injurious to their Sex. Nevertheless, several famous Authors pretend that the Imagination of "the male Animals, in general, contributes, as " well as that of the Female, to the Colour of the " Fætus." It is believed, says Pliny, that the Thought or Imagination of both Male and Female, passing swiftly into the Mind, confounds the Resem-" Some have made the Child thare in blance . " the Plot, and place it at the Head of the Conspi-" rators; pretending that the Circumstances in " which the Fætus is found, are the accidental " Causes of the Mother, and as a Rule which " teaches her what is fit and fuited to the Embryo. " - Others extend their Credulity so far, as to " fancy that Men are able, intirely by the Strength " of their Imagination, to have an Influence on " Persons who are at a great Distance from them; " by inflicting them with Diseases, or healing them; " by changing their Constitution and Make; in a "Word, that they are able to render them happy " or miserable. They compare the Imagination to " a very powerful Magnet, the Sphere of whole " Activity is very extensive; and who consequently " are able to attract, move, and turn topfy-turvy, 44 all Things animate or inanimate that are within " the Sphere of their Activity. How odd and ri-" diculous foever this Opinion may be, it nevertheless was defended by Paracelsus, Crellius,

^{*} Cogitatio utriusque Animum subito transvolans effingere Similitudinem aut miscere existimatur.. Plin. Hist. Nac. Lib. VIII. Cap. XII.

[&]quot; Pomponatius,

Pomponatius, and several more. - I do not " take it to be better grounded, than the Opinion which afferts the Truth of Withcraft, and judi-The Fautors of the Power of " cial Aftrology. the Imagination, have also varied confiderably " with Regard to the Time in which that Power works. The Ancients fixed it at the very In-44 Stant of Conception; they meaning that of the amorous Congres, according to Pliny *." It is thought, fays he, that whatever a Person has seen, beard, remembered, or thought of, at the Instant of Conception, contribute greatly to the Resemblance. " A " modern Author is of Opinion, that the Imagina-"tion does not begin to exert its Power, till after " the Vivification of the Fætus, that is, when it " begins to stir in the Womb +. In short, most " modern Authors agree, that the Imagination may " act upon the Fætus from the Instant of the Conception, till the Delivery; without taking the e least Pains to inform us, what become of those " large Pieces of Flesh and Bone, which the Imaec gination fevers from the Fætus, even when grown " to a confiderable Size."

This Objection, good Heac, with which the Author concludes the Examination of the System of those who declare for the Power of Imagination, destroys all the Subtleties of such Philosophers as are ever eager to find out Mysteries in Things which are extremely natural. For, if the Imagination has the Power to deprive a Child, a little before its Birth, of one of its Limbs, what becomes of the

+ Dr. Turner's Defence of the XIIth Chapter of the 1st Part of a Treatife de Morbis Cutaneis, p. 142.

^{*} Similitudinem quidem in Mente Reputatio est & in qua creduntur multa fortuita pollere, Vifus, Auditus, Memoria, haustæque Imagines, sub ipso Conceptu. Plinius, ibidem.

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Substance which composed that Limb? A still greater Difficulty is, when the Imagination inflantly furnishes and creates some foreign Body. does it instantaneously take the Substance or Matter? Has it the like Power with God, of creating it from nothing? Those Philosophers who have so strongly afferted the Opinion, that nothing could be produced from nothing, ex nibilo nibil fit, will they be so complaifant as to allow a Woman's Imagination, who longs for a Loin of Veal, the Power of producing, in an Instant, on the Breast of the Child, perfect in all Respects, a Piece of Flesh resembling a Loin of Veal? But this is a Miracle very frequently wrought by Women, if we will believe those who suppose them indued with that Power. They relate very furprifing Incidents to this Purpose, one whereof is

as follows, which the Author banters very agreeably *: " PHILIP MEURS, an apostolical Prothonotary, " had a Sifter, handsomely shaped in every Part of " her Body, but unhappily the had no Head, in-" flead of which she had the Shell of a Fish, re-" fembling a Muscle, over her Neck, that opened " and thut, and by which they used to feed this " Muscle-nymph, as with a Spoon. The Acci-" dent was owing to this; her Mother, when with " Child of her, had a very great Longing for some " Muscles which the saw at a Fishmonger's, but fail-" ed to have her Cravings indulged that Instant. " The Sifter to Philip Meurs, Miss Muscle, lived " to twelve Years of Age in that monstrous Con-" dition; but one Morning, as the gaped her " Shells to take in Food, the thut them together " on a sudden with fo much Violence, that she " broke them against the Spoon; and died that

^{*} Dr. Turner's Desença of the XIIth Chapter of the 1st Part of a Treatise de Morbis Cutaneis, p. 42, &c.

The same may be said, dear Isaac, of Part of the Stories which are related concerning Monsters and imperfect Creatures, as of that of which our Author so justly laughs at. The same happens to Le

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Dico me non credere, quia enim ipfe erat senex & Historia erat vetusta, ob cujus Vetustatem non poterat sacile ab aliquo redargui, adeo tum in illa, tum in aliis quas aliquando commemorabat, sæpe erat valde infelix, conjiciendo Veritatem. Deus sit Animæ ejus propitius. Fieni Quæst. XXII.

them as to all Incidents related by different Perfons, the Marvellous of which increase every Moment; all those who repeat them amplifying the Circumstances. A Piece of Flesh, no bigger than a Nut, is foon metamorphofed into a Grenadier's Cap. This is exactly like what is told concerning the Man who pretended he had laid an Egg; before the Sun went down it was strongly affirmed, at the End of the Streets, that he used to lay an hundred daily. It is not but that deformed and monstrous Children are brought into the World, as is but too often proved by Experience; but then these Births happen very rarely, and are owing to Causes of a different Nature than a female Imagination, which cannot act directly upon the Fœtus. What Power soever we may grant it, it must necessarily employ bodily Force to produce the least Effect on the Flesh of a Child. Matter only is capable of acting upon Matter so as to cause Fractures and Diflocations, and bring about a total Change in it. Persons who are beside themselves will imagine they have a glass Head, and therefore are afraid of breaking it; but then this does not cause any Change in the Conformation of their Bodies. Now is it not absurd to affert, that a Woman, who is not able, by the Strength of her Imagination, to produce the least Change in her Body, can occasion such an Etfect upon that of her Child?

The Author refutes perfectly well the Objections raised against these Reasons. He destroys all the salse Principles which Father Mallebranche had indiscreetly grounded on a Story, which, though very extraordinary, might yet be easily accounted for from ordinary Causes, and the Laws of Motion. To come, says he *, to Father Mallebranche's

Story. . . . " About feven or eight Years fince, " fays this Father *, was feen, in the Hospital for "Incurables, a young Man born an Idiot, whose Body was diflocated in the fame. Places in which those of Criminals are broken. He has lived twenty Years in this Condition, and has been feen by many. . . . The Caufe of fo dif-" mal an Accident was owing to a Defire his Mother had to fee a Criminal broken upon the Wheel, which she accordingly indulged. Children see the same Things their Mothers do; hear the fame Cries, receive the like Impressions " from Objects, and are moved by the same Pas-The Blows given to the Malefactor ffruck violently on the Mother's Imagination, and rebounded on the Child's tender Brain, the Eibres of which, being unable to refift the Flood of 4 Spirits, were broken. Hence he came into the World an Idiot. The Impetuofity of the Motion of the Mother's animal Spirits strongly di-46 lated her Brain, and communicated itself to the various Parts of her Body, which corresponded to those of the Criminal. But, as the Mother's Bones were strong enough to refist the Impetuoif fity of the Spirits, they were not hurt. Poffibly " the might not feel the least Pain on that Occa-" fion; but this Progress of the Spirits might be so vehement and rapid, as to carry off or break the tender Part of the Child's Bones. And it must be observed, that, had the Woman in Question turned the Motion of her Spirits towards some other Part of her Body, by strongly scratching her Back-fide, the Child's Bones would not have been broken." Is not this a fine Remedy which Fa-

^{*} Recherche de la Vérité, Livr. ii. Chap. 7. quoted by Blundel, Pages 38 & 39.

ther Mallebranche recommends to pregnant Women, to preserve their Children from the fatal Effects of the

Imagination!

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To this Reflection of the Author, my good Friend Isaac, I will add another: Had Aristotle advised Women to scratch their Back-sides, to check the Effects of the Imagination, how strongly would the modern Naturalists, and particularly Father Mallebranche, having ridiculed fuch a childish Counfel? Aristotle, would they have faid, who not only endeavours to peep into all the Arcana of Nature, but also to prescribe Rules for all dangerous Cases that may happen, orders Women to scratch their Buttocks, to prelerve the Fætus from the Impressions of the Imagination. Can any Thing be more filly and incoherent than to prescribe such a Remedy, and does not the Greek Philosopher deserve the Title of Prince of the Fumblers, rather than that of Prince of the Philosophers? But here we have a modern Philosopher who prescribes so whimsical a Recipe, yet no one endeavours to fet it in a ridiculous Light; and all that is done is to deny the Power of, and the Advantage that may accrue from it. By the Way, dear Isaac, I am furprised that Father Mallebranche should have given the Preference to this Part of the human Body. Had he indeed been a Jesuit, there would have been nothing very extraordinary in his Choice. To wave Raillery, dear Isaac, had not the English Author Reason to say: Who ever saw a Fracture, and especially several, continue twenty Years, without growing callous? . . . I will not deny, but that there might have been, in the Hofpital of the Incurables, a Child, the Construction of whose Limbs might have been so singular and deformed as to give Occasion for fuch a Story; . . . But it is very probable that the Child in Question came into the World with the Bones F. 2

both of the Carpus and Tarsus disjointed; which ignorant People might consider as the Fractures made in the Bodies of Malefactors; ... and give the Mother an Opportunity of forging this idle Fiction, to excite the Charity of tender hearted People. ... Besides, some reputable Authors have observed, that Bones are sometimes found that never had any Solidity at all, or

bad loft their Solidity *.

After that the English Naturalist has strongly and invincibly refuted the Impossibility of the Effects ascribed to the Imagination of Women, and demonstrated that they are repugnant to the Principles of Anatomy, (as the Mother's Nerves have no Communication with those of the Child:) He thews, that as the Passions of the Body are only Motions of the Blood and Spirits, whose Velocity is greater or less Surprise, with Respect to the Mind, is no more than a sudden Comparison made, with or without Pain, between an Object which is familiar and another that is unknown to us. But are Children, says he +, catable of making these various Reflections, at a Time when they are a mere sensitive Lump of Flesh? The Mother's Thoughts indeed are very extensive; but then it is not possible for the Child to comprehend them; its Understanding not being yet formed by the Knowledge of exterior Objects, which affect or disturb the Mother, who is frightened at a Sword, because she disturbs the Hand which holds it; and is frightened at a Dog, as she is sensible that it may possibly bite her. . . . Those who pretend, with Father Mallebranche, that the Child fees the same Objects as the Mother, and hears the Same Sounds, must mean alio modo than Children can fee without Light, and hear when their Ears are

^{*} Blundel's Physical Dissertation, p, 40, &c.

⁺ Pag. 53 & 54.

stopt . . . And how would it be possible for the Mother to communicate her Thoughts to the Child, in her Womb, when her Soul is absolutely separated from that

of the Fætus?

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The physical Reasons which the Author gives for those Marks, and the Deformity sometimes found in Children, are as judicious and natural as those alledged by him to refute the Effects of the Imagination. He ascribes the Birth of monstrous Creatures to the Indispositions and Infirmities of the Animals in the Womb; to a Stop put to the growing of some Parts of the Fætus; to some Violence or Force her Body met with; to the bad Health of the Parents, and the Eggs changing their Place. There is no Doubt, fays he *, but Children in the Womb are as liable to Sicknesses, as after they are born. They are not exempt from Cataracts, the Gout, &c. Would it not therefore be very strange, and even astonishing, that a tender Body, like that of the Foctus, which is capable of receiving the flightest Impression, should always come into the World, without discovering the fad Effects of so great a Number of Infirmities, by some Mark or Deformity? the Several Parts of the Foetus are all planned in the Egg, but they do not grow equally. Some display themselves from, whereas others do not appear till a long Time afterwards, or perhaps never, if they meet with any Obstacle. For, if the Feetus is indisposed, the Obstructions of the Vessels may deprive certain Parts of their Nourishment, which afterwards remain in their first State, without growing or increasing, at the same Time that the rest hecome perfect. Whenever that happens, this Phanomenon is thought so strange, that the Vulgar do. not fail immediately to cry that a Monster is born,

and to ascribe the monstrous Quality of the Child to the Mother's Imagination, though there is nothing unnatural in all this . . . For Instance, the Brain both within and without is at first like two watery Bladders, but afterwards that very clear Water condenses or thickens, and is covered only with a delicate Skin *. Some Children bave come into the World, without the Appearance of any Brain. This Particular is related in Blegny's Journals. He relates that a female Child had no Brain at her Birth, and yet lived five Days +. Doubtless this Child's Brain continued in its first State, occasioned by some Obstructions, and consequently appeared watery. Whenever a Child is brought forth, bearing Some Resemblance to an Ape, a Frog, or something still uglier, it must be ascribed to the same Cause; I mean, that as the Lips and Cheeks were not yet arrived at their Perfection, and the Mouth being firetched as wide as the Ears t, which then are imperceptible: Children born with these Imperfections appear horrible to the Spectators, and occasion many fabulous Stories. It is no difficult Matter to discover the Origin of red Marks. It aften proceeds from the Skin's not being of a due Thickness in that Part, whence it appears as though it had been flead; for, as all the Veins are close to the Surface of the Skin, they therefore are eafily feen.

* In Capite circumcrescente Membrana, ex Aqua limpidissima cerebrum concinnatur. . . . Cerebrum & Cerebellum ex limpidissima Aqua in Coagulum callosum densantur. Harvæus, Exercitat LXIX.

† Puella fine Cerebro nata in tota Cranii Capacitate nibil præter Aquam liquidam deprehendere licuit, omnino adimplentem Membranam, nullo præsente Cerebro, aut Substantiâ solidâ. Blegny Zodaicus Medico-Gallicus, April 1681, Observat. III.

1 Oris Rictus ad utramque Aurem protensus cernitur.

Harvæus, Exercitat. LXIX.

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Sometimes this Defect is not owing fo much to the Skin , as to the Structure of the Arteries and Veins; the capillary Branches of the former being extremely namerous, and more extended than usual; and those of the other Vessels being but few, narrow, and discharging the Blood flowly. . . The Body of the Foetus, being very tender, is also liable to be bruised and hurt by the firence Convulsions of the Tubes, and those of the Womb; a well as by the violent Contraction of the Muscles of the Abdomen, which press upon it forcibly. Hippocrates * is of Opinion, that the ill Construction of the Womb may occasion Deformities. The Child, fays he, in the Womb, will be maimed if it has not Room enough, and is not at its full Eafe. It is like, in this Respect, to a Vetegable, which meeting with a Stone, or some other Substance, that confines it in its Growth, grows infensibly deformed; thin on one Side, and thick on the other.

Is it possible, dear Isaac, that, as good Sense, instructed and guided by Anatomy, should offer to the Mind fo many natural Methods for explaining the imperfect Formation of Animals, several Philosophers should yet have sought for Expedients to maintain and justify the Prejudices of vulgar and ignorant Persons, and ascribe to the Power of the Imagination in Women the Caufes of certain Effects, which Nature presented them in so clear a Manner? But, fay the Followers of Mallebranche, who cannot bear to fee the Remedy of their Founder exploded, If a female Imagination can have no Effect upon a Foetus, how comes it that some Women have been hurt merely by a Fright? If the Foctus is insensible to whatever happens in the Mother's Imagination, how can it share in her Fear? To this I

De Genitur. Art. XI.

answer, Friend Mage, that it really has no Share in this Fear, but is strongly affected by the corporal Impressions which this Dread of its Parent occasions: by the Motions of the Diaphragm and the Muscles of the Abdomen, which, preffing strongly the Intestines, obliges the Womb to thrust upon the Fætus. and fometimes destroy it. The strong Passions diforder very much the human Body. Surprife, Terror, and Anger have the same Effect upon the human Machine, as forcibly shaking a Clock. Should we be surprised if a Man, upon his falling down, should put the Springs of his Watch out of Order? Would it be necessary to inquire, in the Imagination of this Man, for the Cause of this Disorder; and, to prevent it, should he scratch his Back-side as he fell? It must be confessed that, were some of the ancient Philosophers to return again into the World, they would find, in the Writings of certain Moderns, Matter sufficient to revenge themselves of the Sarcasms (and these often too violent) fometimes levelled at their Opinions.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Isaac, live contented and

happy.

London, the

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LETTER CLXX

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

Took Notice, good Monceca, in my last Letter, of the Conformity between the People of Tripoli and those of Sparta. They also have imitated fome of the Roman Customs. They trust the Guarding of their City, in the Night-time, to Mastiffs, which they that up, during the Day, in one of the Bastions of the Rampart. These Mastiffs discharge very faithfully the Duties of their Functions; they patrol through the Streets of the City; and, if they happen to meet with any Person, they are fure to tear him to Pieces. The Moment Daybreaks, they go of themselves to the Door of their Prison. They indeed are less quiet here than those Dogs who were appointed to guard the Capitol; for they bark the Instant they hear any Person come near their Habitations, and their Roaring is heard in all that Quarter of the City; whereas those of the Romans were obliged, upon Pain of Death, to be quiet in the Day-time. The People of Tripoli, in this Respect, shew more Judgment than the Romans; they not requiring, from Brutes, any Actions but fuch as fuit their Nature; and are not fo filly as to expect, from them, a Chain of Reasoning.

I know not, Friend Monceca, if thou ever tookest Notice of the exact Discipline which the Dogs in the Capitol were obliged to keep. One would conclude that the Romans were superstitiously persuaded, that the Brutes in Question must have been in-

ipired by the Deity. "They are fed, fays Tully, in order that they may bark: For this Reason it

" is not thought strange to hear them bark in the Night, at any one whom they may hear coming,

"though a Person of the greatest Goodness and Virtue; the Unseasonableness of the Hour ex-

"cuses their Mistake, and authorises their Suspicion. But they are sure to have their Legs broke

whenever they bark, in the Day-time, against Persons who go to the Temple, to offer up their

" Prayers to the immortal Gods *."

Is not this an excellent Maxim, and founded on good Sense? Does it not argue great Wisdom to require a Dog to forget that he is such during the Day, and remember what Creature he is in the Night, upon Pain of being hanged by the Neck till be is dead? When we reflect, dear Monceca, on the abfurd and childish Customs that strongly prevailed, and which were confidered as effential Laws, amongst most of the ancient Nations, we are astonished to find that Men, who performed such glorious Actions, and exhibited fo many Proofs of the Greatness of their Genius, could have given into, and approved of Customs, which now appear incoherent and ridiculous to the most barbarous Nati-This is a Circumstance that cannot but mortify the Pride of Man. One would be apt to imagine that the Capacity of wretched Mortals is fuch,

Anseribus Cibaria publice locantur, & Canes aluntum in Capitolio, ut significent si Fures veniant. At Fures internoscere non possunt. Significant tamen, si qui noctu in Capitolium venerint: & quia id est suspiciosum, tamens Bestiae sunt, tamen in eam fartem potius peccant qua est cautier. Quod si Luce quoque Canes latrent, quum Deos salutatum aliqui venerint, of inor iis Crura sussingantur, quod acres sint etiam tunc quum Suspicio nulla sit, Cicero pro Roscio Amerino, Cap. xx.

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that they are never able to institute, in a State, a Body of Laws equally wife and judicious, but are always obliged to mix a certain Portion of Folly and Superstition with the most just Resections. Hence I should be apt to think, worthy Monceca, that all Nations refemble, in many Points, those whom, at first Sight, they seem most to differ from. This Reflection may appear fingular to you, and it feems a Kind of Paradox to suppose, that the Italians, a People of a gentle, supple, and voluptuous Cast of Mind, averse to War, and loving the polite Arts, should yet bear a Conformity to Indians of a favage Disposition, unpolished and ignorant, and inured to Labour and Fatigue. Neverthelefs, what Difference soever we may imagine is found between the Turn of Mind of the several People in Question, it will appear, upon a strict Inquiry, that they refemble one another, even in the most essential Things.

The Italians bear so great a Reverence for their Pontist, as almost amounts to Idolatry. They set him upon an Altar, offer Incense to him, fall prostrate before him, and kiss in the humblest Manner his Toe. Let us now take a View of the Honours which the Indians pay to their Princes. They appear before them in a Posture of the utmost Humility, and never address them but in Terms as pompous as the soothing Titles of Holiness, and of God's Vicar upon Earth. The Chinese, whenever they come before their Emperors, fall down nine Times before them. Is not this equivalent to the humble

Kiffing of the facred Slipper?

"In India, fays a modern Author*, all the Pagods are renowned for some Miracles, or extraordinary Cures, of the Legends of which a

^{*} Ceremonies and religious Customs of the idolatrons Nations. Tom. II. Part I. p. 2.

" History is composed, for the Comfort and Edi-" fication of devout Persons. . . . The Piety of one shall be directed to Jagarnat, and of another to Wistnoo. A Bramin, taking the Handkerchiefs of these Devotees, or any other Things "they may present to them, rubs them against the "God whose Priest he is, and afterwards returns 46 them to the feveral Persons to whom they belong." Is not this, excellent Monceca, an exact Copy of what is done in Europe? Ignatius Loyola is there instead of Jagarnat, and Francis d'Affife of Wistnoo. The Jesuits and Franciscans are just upon a Level, in this Respect, with the Bramins, since they rub the Shrines of their Patriarchs with Handkerchiefs; and, what is still more furprising, the Monks of St. Genevieva rub, in like Manner, the Case of that Saint's Shrine, with Pieces of Linnen fastened at the End of a Pole; though they might as well rub her Pedestal with it, or the Threshold of her Church-door. The Monks above-mentioned employ as much Art in taking Advantage of the Superstition of the Europeans, as the Bramins do, with Regard to the Simplicity and Ignorance of the Indians. Has not the Author who informs us of these Artifices of their Priests Reason to say, that the Priests act here exactly as in other Countries?

But this is not the only Circumstance in which the Faith of the Italians agree with that of the East-Indians. Both People make Processions to their Pagods. The former carry their Saints up and down the Streets; and the latter go about as ceremoniously with their Gods. The Author just quoted furnishes me also with this second Particular. In the Procession, says he*, which the Indians

^{*} Ceremonies and religious Customs of the idolatrous Nations. Tom. II. Part I. p. 2.

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make to their Gods, they follow fome Ufages " that are pretty well known in Europe. Such. " for Instance, is that of the Litter, on which they " carry the God who is led about; the portable " Altar employed in these Processions; the Flowers " scattered in the Way of the Idol; the Perfumes " and Odours they burn in its Honour, &c. I " shall make no Mention of the Cries of these De-" votees; of the Prayers which they offer up howl-" ing; of the Gesticulations which the Presence of "God excites; their Groans and their Transports. " the too ordinary Effect of Custom and Educa-" tion." Would not one imagine, Friend Monceco, this to be the Description of one of those Nazarene Processions, in which the Shrine of some Saint is carried, in order to put a Stop to a long Sterility, or

procure an Abundance of Rain?

By the Way, it is not barely to Images that the Romans pay a superstitious Worship. I have often feen, whilft I was at Rome, a Croud of People falling proftrate in the Streets, through which the Pontiff passed, escorted by a splendid Cavalcade. On these Occasions were heard the like Groans and Trans ports, which the Sight of their Gods infpires the Indians with. What a Spectacle must it be to a Philosopher to see all the Inhabitants of a City fall at the Feet of a Man, and cry with a trembling Voice, Holy Father, absolve us from our Crimes; bestow upon us Indulgences, to serve us in our expiring Moments! It would be the same to me if they should fay, Favour us with a Paffport to secure us from the Sheriff's. Officers of Hell. I will confess to thee, dear Monceca, that I always blufhed at the Weakness of the human Mind, every Time I beheld fuch Scenes. What would Socrates, that wife Aibenian, have faid, had something of this Kind been told him? I question if he could have kept his Countenance. He would

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would have laughed at the Folly of the Italians, just as he did at that of the Greeks, and have met with the like Fate. The Inquisitors would not have been more humane than those Tyrants who sentenced him to die. In all Countries where Superstition prevails, it is dangerous to attempt to enlighten the Minds of Men; especially in those where the Scepter and Cenfer are in the same Hands. Any Person who violates the Laws of Morality, and acts in such a Manner as is injurious to Society, easily obtains in Rome a Pardon; but Woe be to him if he has attempted any Thing that tends to the Diminution of the Ecclesiastical Authority: His Ruin is infallible, and the most severe Punishment is insticted upon him.

To return, excellent Monceca, to the Conformity between the Indians and Italians. In the Kingdom of Decan, the Nairos have a Right to demand the last Favours of any Maidens or married Women whose Beauty may have charmed them. The Husbands think it an Honour to wear the Horns, when planted by Persons of so high a Rank. In Rome, the Cardinals and Prelates; and, in the rest of Italy, the Monks and Priests have not yet reduced to the Form of a Law the Power which they have over the Fair-sex; but then they enjoy in Effect the same Privileges as the Nairos; and there is no Roman but thinks himself vastly happy to be honoured with a Visit, in which he himself has much less Concern

than his Wife.

Among the Banians, the chief Bramin has the fame Rights and Prerogatives as the Roman Pontiff. It is he who allows Dispensations for Marriages, and grants Divorces, for all which ready Money must be paid.

Here follows another Conformity between the Belief of the Italians and Indians; which comprebends, at the same Time, many of the chief Arti-

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cles of the Religion of the People. It is extracted from the fame Author whom I copied before. "The Indians, fays he *, when they grow in "Years, perform Penances, and such-like Works, " confidered as meritorious, in order that, when " they quit this Life, their Soul may go and refide " in a found Body, or that of a Person of Distinc-To this Motive we must ascribe all their " pious Works, Alms, Retirements, Foundations, " &c. Those, who have not Strength of Mind to " undergo Austerities, give into the Practices just mentioned; bestow Alms very liberally on the " Bramins, and enjoin their Heirs to offer up Prayers " to God in their Favour. There are some also " who amass immense Treasures during their Lives, " in order that they may have wherewithal to re-" deem themselves after Death, when their Souls " are so unhappy as to enter into the Body of a mi-" ferable Wretch."

The Notion of the Transmigration of Souls produces the same Effects among the Indians, as Purgatory among the Nazarenes. I imagine I see, in the Banians, who perform extraordinary Acts of Charity, in order that, at their quitting this mortal Life, their Souls may go and animate a well-disposed Body, so many Farmer-generals appointing, in their expiring Moments, some Friars to bestow in Legacies Part of the Treasure stolen by them.

Methinks there is likewise a great Conformity between the rich *Italian* and *Indian* Devotees, "who, not having Courage enough to submit to Austerities, purchase, upon Consideration of a certain

"Sum, the Privilege of being exempt from them.
"Such a Favour is bestowed on a superstitious, but

^{*} Ceremonies and religious Customs of the idolatrous Nations, Tom. II. Part I. Page 27.

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"voluptuous Roman." Upon giving ten Pistoles he is permitted to eat Flesh during Lent, and on such Days on which it is prohibited by Order of the Pope. He likewise supplies himself with a confiderable Number of Indulgences, which he purchases at a very dear Rate, and imagines to be of

great Use after Death.

I very juftly imagine, dear Monceca, that there is a great Resemblance between the Usages and Manners of the two People, of whose Superstition I have just now taken a View; and it is not only in those Things relating to the Ceremonies and exterior Worthip, that they act much after the same They entertain the same Idea with Regard to myffical Devotion, and the ridiculous Macerations practifed by some Nazarene Monks. The Indians have their Capuchins, their Fathers of la Trappe, their Camalduli, and their Carthusians, &c. Here follows an exact Relation of their Manner of living, which feems to be copied from fome Account. that contained the extravagant History of monastic Penances. " Sita was the Inventor of Primages, and the Patriarch of the Indian Hermits, known by the Name of Fakirs. - When they find them-" selves inclined to sleep, they let themselves fall down on the Ashes of Cow-dung, and such-like " Filth. They even sometimes sprinkle their long " and dirty Hair with these Ashes, by Way of " Powder. Some retire into a kind of Ditch, where they receive no Light but from a very little Hole. "They will flay in these Places nine or ten Days, always continuing in the fame Posture, and with-" out eating or drinking. It is affirmed, that others pass their whole Lives without once lying down: "But, whenever they are strongly inclined to fleep, " they lean against a Rope, which hangs between " two Trees. - Other Penitents will stand, during

" ten or twelve Hours in the Day, with one Foot " lifted up on high, their Eyes fixed upon the Sun, " and holding a Cenfer filled with Fire, wherein " they throw Incense in Honour of some Idol. " Others continue for ever feated, or rather squatted " upon their Buttocks, in which Posture their " Hands are always lifted up different Ways over

" their Head, &c. *"

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The Aufterity of these Fakirs may be very justly compared to the Follies of some Nazarene Monks. Ignatius Loyola, the mighty Patriarch of the Jesuits, travelled for many Years with one Foot covered, and the other naked, and let himself be eat up by Lice; he having confined himself, with a Parcel of Wretches like himself, in an Hospital. d'Affife wheet to roll about in the Snow, as a Horse will in Straw. His Disciples, at this Day, prick their Bodies with Iron-points, go half-maked, and are as dirty as the Fakirs; equally useless to Society; as ignorant, as stupid, and as much revered by the Vulgar. Can any Resemblance be stronger than this? Here follows another which is no less fo. is found among these Fakirs, and the mystical Disciples of Molinos. "To all that has been writ con-" cerning these Indian Hermits, fays the Author so " often oited, I shall add, that devout Women are " feen who go and kiss the most secret Parts of their "Bodies, and yet never avert their Eyes, are never " put out of Countenance, nor is any Sensibility " discovered on either Side. They even affect, at " their receiving these extravagant Tokens of Re-" spect, a Kind of Extasy and Tranquillity of " of Mind +."

^{*} Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the idolatrous Nations, Tom. II. Part. I. Page 7. † Ibid.

Am not I in the Right, worthy Monceca, to affert that we meet in India with that Quietism which Molinos preached in the Midst of Rome, and which to many Nazarene Priests have adopted? When I think of these Women going to kis the most bidden Parts of the Fakirs, methinks I behold Father Girard, with his Eyes turned up towards Heaven, fasten his Lips on La Cadiere's Bubbies; and, a little after this Feat, I fee him kiffed by La Batterelle, another of his Penitents. How many Monks in Italy transform into Relics, in the same Manner as the Fakirs, the most peccant Parts of their Bodies? If their Devotees had the fame Way of Thinking as Rabelais, they would be contented with receiving a Kifs on their Faces, and no where elfe. The French Author in question could never be prevailed upon to accompany, to the Audience of the Pope, the Ambaffador in whose Retinue he came to Rome; and, being asked the Reason for it, he replied, "I have " a great Aversion to bad Smells; and, since my " Master, who represents an august Monarch, is

"going to kis the Pope's Toe, doubtless I, being but a poor Physician, will be allowed only to kis

" his Back-fide."

The Post is setting out, so I am extremely hurried, and must therefore conclude my Letter. Always behold the Manners and Customs of all Nations with a philosophic Eye, and then thou wilt easily perceive, that those who sometimes seem to differ mostly in their Manners, have nevertheless many Things in common.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Monceca, live contented and happy, and always feek for thy Felicity in the

Love of Philosophy and the Sciences.

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LETTER CLXXI.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Ralbi at Constantinople.

S o M E Difficulties occur, worthy Friend Isaae, in the Knowledge of the Soul of Brutes, which can never be surmounted by the Mind of Man. What Hypothesis soever the Philosophers invent, to unfold the Knowledge of it, they will only give Rise to new Doubts. They indeed will shew the Weakness of the Systems combated by them; but in destroying them they will not establish their own, which, though it will not have the Desects perceived in the rest, will yet have others equally considerable. On what Side soever a Philosopher, divested of Prejudice, turns his Eye, he perceives Barriers which check the Progress of all his Researches.

If we consider the Soul of Brutes as a simple Modification of Matter, we run the Hazard of concluding, from this Principle (in examining the Nature of the Soul of Man) that it is material like that of Brutes. For, if Matter can be endued with a self-moving Power, it is able to receive the Faculty of thinking, conceiving, reslecting, how grosly and imperfectly soever it may possess these Qualities; yet by subtilizing still more, by making it act upon Organs of a more delicate Texture, I shall be able to raise it easily to that Point of Perfection which I perceive in the most perfect and most enlightened human Soul. I even shall not find it very difficult to carry it up to that Height, by raising it gradually.

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I shall find but little Difference between an Elephant, and a heavy Lapland Peafant, to whose Language I am a Stranger. I thall perceive that the two Animals act equally in Confequence of what may be of Use to them; that they articulate bounds which I do not understand; that they are susceptible of Pity, Anger, Fear, Friendship; that they are endued with Memory, and shun what may sometimes annoy them. The Instant I discover a perfect Resemblance in the intellectual Principles of the two Animals in Question, I have a Certainty of the Posfibility of the common Materiality of their Essence. It is then easy for me to raise myself, by Degrees, from the Soul of the Lapland Animal, to that of the Philosopher Des Cartes; Reason suggesting to me plainly, that the Souls of the same Species of Animals cannot be of several different Kinds. Nothing could be fo abfurd and ridiculous, as to affert that the Understanding, in some Men, resulted from a spiritual Principle, and that of some others from a material Principle.

When, in order to obviate the numberless Difficulties that arise, in the System of those who declare Brutes to be endued with a material Soul, we are for admitting that of Des Cartes, Reason strongly opposes an Hypothesis, the Falsity of which is plainly discovered to us by the Laws of Nature, as well as by what we see performed every Day by Brutes. How can we figure to ourselves that a Dog, in whom we perceive all the Indications of Memory, Conception, and Reasoning; who is sensible, not only to those Passions which act directly on the Senses, as Hunger, Thirst, and Pain; but likewise on those, the chief Operations whereof are in the Mind, among which are Friendship, Pity, Tenderness, Gratitude, and Affection; how,

I say, can any Person figure to himself, that this Dog is a mere Machine, which, according to Father Mallebranche, cries without Pain, eats without Pleasure, believes without being conscious of it; desires nothing, and fears nothing? That Person must have a very strong Faith who can believe such Things: and I am sirmly persuaded, Friend Isaac, that those who have afferted the Probability of this with so much Warmth, did not believe the Possibi-

lity of it in the Manner they pretended.

Some Philosophers have invented a third System, to remove the Difficulties of the other two, by afferting, that the Soul of Brutes is neither material nor spiritual, but a middle Being between Spirit and Matter. But how filly is such a Distinction? This medium Substance must either have Extension, or else be unextended; if it be extended, it consequently is material, because whatever is extended is material. But, if it be not extended, it is consequently spiritual; because whatever has no Extension, and exists, is necessarily spiritual. If the Soul of Brutes be neither spiritual nor material, it is consequently a chimerical Being, as the Vacuum of the Epicureans is a mere Negation.

This is altogether as ridiculous as what the Peripatetics advance, when they pretend to prove, that
the Soul of Brutes is merely a material Form, because it differs infinitely from that of Man, in the
Knowledge of Good, and several other Things.
If the Difference between the Essence and Genus
of Souls was owing to the different Degrees of Perception, it must then be asserted, that those of Children are not of the same Kind with that of Men,
who have attained to the Age of Reason. To this

^{*} Mallebranche, Recherche de la Vérité, Book IV. Chap. VII. Pag. 432.

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the Peripatetics and Schoolmen answer, that the Soul of a Child, and that of a Man, do not differ in Genus and Order; but that the Cause of the little Perception that is seen in Children is owing to the Organs not having yet attained their Persection.

But this weak Argument is destroyed by such an Objection as is unanswerable. "Since only the Organs, may these Philosophers be answered, de-" termine the Degree of the Understanding and " Conception of Souls, who can tell, if the Soul of a Horse was placed in the Body of Aristotle or that of Scotus, but that it might have acquired the Qualities found in those of the Philosophers in Question? In like Manner, if their Souls " had animated the Body of an Ass, all the Tokens of Reasoning they could have given, would have been to chuse the best Thistles in a Meadow. "The Organs, according to you, being the only " Circumstance, to which we must ascribe the a-" mazing Disparity found between the Operations of the Soul of Children, and the Conceptions of that of Men; you ought not to wonder, that the " fame intellectual Being, if lodged in a well orga-" nized human Body, fuch as that of Aristotle, 46 should make a Philosopher; and produce only " filly, uniform Actions, in the Body of an As, which perhaps may not be the hundredth Part fo " well organized as that of a Child."

The Instant those Philosophers, who declare in Favour of material Forms, have not Recourse to Revelation, it will be impossible for them to shew, that it is necessary, in order to explain the different Degrees of Understanding which appear between the Soul of Brutes and that of Men, to admit a Difference in their Essence. Their Opponents may always object to them very justly, that this Difference

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rence is of no Signification, fince it may be formed folely by the Organs. Thus, fo far from being necessary according to their System, for the Soul of Brutes to be a Medium Substance between Matter and Spirit, as certain Philosophers have pretended, that of Men may be material; fince it will be of the same Kind with that of Brutes, which, according to the Peripatetics, is no more than a material Form.

The Difficulties which occur in these different Hypotheses, with Respect to the Soul of Brutes. have given Rife, in these latter Times, to an Opimon that is fingular enough, and no less improbable than the rest, and as liable to Objections. According to this Opinion Brutes are informed with an immaterial and intellectual Principle. It is not within these few Years that Philosophers first asferted, that Brutes argue with as much Wisdom as Strato, Parmenides, Empedocles, Democritus, and Anaxagoras, have taught that they were endued with Understanding, as likewise did Philo and Galen: But it never entered into the Head of any of these Philosophers to suppose them animated with a spiritual Soul. It was scarce possible for them to do this, as they looked upon that of Man no otherwise than as a material Substance. learned Men, in these latter Ages, have admitted a spiritual Principle in Brutes. In Confirmation of this Opinion, an Author has very lately published a Book, in which are a great Number of curious Observations and fingular Reflections *. According to this Writer, the Soul of Brutes is an immate-

Brutes, containing various Reflections on the Nature of Liberty, on that of our Sensations, on the Union of the Soul and Body, and on the Immortality of the former,

rial and intelligent Substance. — An active Principle endued with Sensations, and with them only. The human Soul, says he, comprehends in itself, abstracted from its essential Activity, two Faculties which furnish that Activity with the Matter on which it exercises itself. One is the Faculty of forming clear and distinct Ideas; — the other is the Faculty of feeling or perceiving. — Which should prevent our supposing — a Spirit endued with the last of these two Qualities, without having the former, which should be able to receive mone but indistinct Ideas, or consused Conceptions. As this Mind would be consined to much narrower Limits than the human Soul, it would be essentially or specifi-

cally different from it.

This System, dear Isaac, is as liable as the rest to fuch Objections as are unanswerable. For, suppofing it might so happen, that there is a spiritual Principle endued only with the Faculty of Sensation, this would not resolve a thousand Difficulties which occur to the Mind. How is it possible for a Substance of a spiritual Nature to perish or be destroyed? Having no Parts, it consequently is not capable of being divided. It is contrary to the most evident Notions to suppose, that a spiritual Being, in order for it to be subsisted, must necessarily be lodged in a natural Body. As the Mind is intirely distinct from Matter, it cannot receive any Injury from the various Changes which happen in fuch Matter. " As the Soul, fays Mallebranche *, is " a spiritual Substance, it must be immortal; it " not being possible for us to conceive, that a Sub-" stance can be annihilated. To conceive the Pos-" fibility of this, we must have Recourse to a " most extraordinary Power of God." To this,

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^{*} Recherche de la Verite, Lib. IV. Chap. VIII. Page 428.

dear Isaac, I know the following Answer may be made, that a greater Power is not required to create, than to annihilate a Substance; and that if God, when he informed Brutes with a spiritual Soul, resolved that it should be destroyed by Death, it will be deftroyed. But this does not prove that Beafts are informed with a spiritual Principle: All that can be inferred from it is this, that, if there really was fuch a Principle in Brutes, God is able to annihilate it. Nevertheless, as he always acts by Methods that shew the utmost Simplicity; and that the System which supposes the Soul of Brutes to be material, is much better fuited to the Ideas we entertain of the Order of Substances, both material and spiritual, than that which supposes it to be incorporeal; we must take it for granted that he created it material. For why should we suppose a spiritual Principle in Animals, when all the Functions we ascribe to them may be performed by a material Principle? Farther, we cannot conceive how a Thing which is spiritual should be deprived of the Faculty of forming distinct Ideas. This is repugnant to the just Notions we have concerning the Essence of the Mind. Thought is a Property of a spiritual Thing. as Extent is of Matter. As therefore there cannot be a material Being without Extent, neither can there be a spiritual one deprived of Perception. When certain Philosophers are for supposing such an incorporeal Substance, as is capable of forming only indistinct Ideas, they require us to admit of a Substance or Matter, which has Extent but no Depth. But Suppositions of this Kind will give a Sanction to the groffest Errors. After having admitted such a spiritual Principle in Brutes, as should never have any Ideas but those of the most confused Nature, might not another Kind of Principle be admitted. indued only with Sensations? The various Essences VOL. V.

of the Mind would be multiplied in infinitum; and, if we admit two Sorts of Spirituality, we may admit thirty. But these Notions are not only repugnant to sound Philosophy, but also to the most simple

Knowledge.

If we are for supposing a spiritual Principle in Brutes, this Principle must necessarily be the same with that in Man; it must have the same Essence; and the Difference we perceive in its Operations, must arise only from the various Structure of the Organs. But what a Dilemma will this plunge us into? We either must suppose the Souls of Brutes to be immortal, or affert that those of Men are not, If it is replied, that they are equally fo, it then will be asked, what becomes of the Soul of Brutes after their Body is destroyed? Will there be a Paradife, a Purgatory, a Hell, allotted for them? No Man has yet been fo filly as to maintain fuch an Opinion. Will they pass into other Modifications of Matter? In this Case we should be forced to admit of Transmigration, and the several ridiculous Absurdities that result from this System. If, to avoid these Difficulties, we affert that they will be reduced to nought, this Annihilation must suppose that of the Soul of Man, fince it is of the same Essence with that of Brutes; that there are not two Sorts of Spirituality; and that the Supposition of one being less spiritual than another, implies no less a Contradiction, than that of a Substance, which, though extended, has neither Breadth nor Depth. But, the Instant we admit the Spirituality of the human Soul, it is not only repugnant to the Opinion received in all Religions, but also to the Light of Reason, to deprive it of Immortality. The Arguments, brought to prove the Destruction of the Soul, are taken from its being supposed to be material in its Essence; and its Annihilation is only the total Disorder

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Disorder or Dissolution of the Parts which compofed it. But, the Instant we suppose it spiritual, this Disorder cannot be admitted, since whatever is in-

corporeal cannot be divided.

It is impossible to conceive, how a spiritual Substance should not subsist but in Consequence of the Existence of a corporeal Substance. As the Essence of both these Substances is perfectly distinct, the Destruction of the one must not cause the Destruction of the other. Father Mallebranche is in the right to suppose, that, to effect this, an extraordinary Power of the Deity would intervene; but his Argument is of no Force against such as suppose the Soul to be material; because God having permitted certain Particles of Matter to be indued with Thought, fo long as they shall have a particular Modification; when these Atoms shall disunite, and cease to form that Modification, they may be naturally supposed to lose their Faculties, merely by our having Recourfe to the general Order of Things. and their first Creation.

If we allow the intellectual Principle of Brutes to be spiritual, indivisible, and not to suffer any Injury from the Impulses of Matter, we then must be forced, to prevent our being obliged to own that it is immortal as well as that of Men, to have Recourse to an extraordinary Opinion; and affert, that God creates and annihilates, every Inflant, Millions of Substances of the second Class of Spirituality. Cannot God, will it be faid, effett this, if he tleafes? I grant that he is able to do it; but it is abfurd to lay down a System, whose only Proof is an extraordinary Power of the Deity; and to adopt an Opinion that clashes with the Notion we entertain of the Essence of Spirituality, and admits of Principles an hundred Times more puzzling than those attempted to be destroyed. For, abstracting from the

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Difficulties which arise from the very Nature of the System, how many occur in the Opinion which admits the Spirituality of the human Soul? With what Doubts should we not sometimes be perplexed, if Revelation and the facred Writings did not assure us of it? Can we easily comprehend, how it is possible for a Being that has no Extent to act upon Extension? And how, on the other Hand, can an extended Substance act upon a Thing which has no Parts? Is it not as easy to conceive, that God, by his almighty Power, may bestow an Understanding on certain Atoms? These Subjects, Friend Isaac, may afford Matter for eternal Contests.

Enjoy thy Health; and, without once disturbing thyself with any of these Questions, live contented

and happy.

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LETTER CLXXII.

AARON MONCECA to Issac Onis, a Caraite, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

THERE are in England, dear Isaac, two famous Universities, the one at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge. The Aristotelian Philosophy is intirely banished from both; and the Professors read there, and explain to the Pupils, the Works of the fage Locke, and of the learned Sir Isaac Newton. These illustrious Men now take the Place of Aristotle; and his most samous Commentators; the English having intirely shaken off the Yoke of the scholastic and peripatetic Philosophers. They disengaged themselves much easier from their Prejudices, than

than most of their Neighbours, who endeavoured, during some Time, to maintain the Doctrines of Aristotle, by the Aid of the Magistrates, and the

Authority of the Prince.

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Nothing can more strongly evince the great Lengths to which Prejudices may be carried, than the Disputes raised in the last Century, in favour of the Peripatetic Philosophy. The Nazarene Priests would have had it confidered with as much Reverence, as the fundamental Articles of their Religion. Nevertheless, these very Works of Aristotic which they protect, were formerly sentenced to the Flames by an Assembly of Nazarene Pontists *; and the Credit of the Greek Philosopher has, at different Times, been subject to the most fatal Reverses of A Nazarene Friar +, whose predominant Passion was to be thought a Prophet, exclaimed aloud, in the twelfth Century, against Ariflotle's Metaphysics. He wrote circular Letters to feveral Prelates, (exhorting them to unite their Zeal to his) to prevent, as he faid, the Evils which might accrue from Opinions of the most dangerous Tenden-But all his Endeavours were fruitless. Cy. Peripatetic Sect swallowed up all the reft, and reigned as Queen in all the Schools. And now the Conrmentators on Aristotle advanced the most ridiculous and chimerical Opinions. They made Chains, which served to no other Purpose but to ensnare the Minds of Men, and keep them under the fevere Captivity of Prejudices. Even the Mahommedans feemed to vie with the Nazarenes in bestowing the most extravagant Encomiums upon it; and a Perfon was no longer permitted to examine (whatfoever Religion he might profess) whether a Man who had, as others, but a Soul and Body, could be mistaken.

† St. Bernard.

^{*} A Council held in France under Philip Augustits.

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The Musti's and Interpreters of the Koran wrested Mahommed's Works, to make them square with those of Aristotle: And the Friars took no less Pains, to reconcile the Doctrine of the Lycaum with that of the sirst Nazarene Doctors. A French Author*, Friend Isaac, informs me, that Averroes used to say, "That Nature was not intirely completed till Aristotle came into the World: That she received in him the sinishing Stroke, and the Persection of her Being; that she cannot go farther; that this is the utmost Exertion of her strength, and the Limits of the human Under-

" flanding."

This Elogium, how extravagant foever, is far less so than the Theses maintained by the Divines of Cologn. They pretended that Aristotle was the Fore-runner of the Meffiah, whom the Nazarenes imagine to be already come, and whom we expect as our Deliverer. It must be confessed, dear I/aac, that fo whimfical a Supposition affords the Faithful among the Israelites a fine Subject for Ridicule; and fince our Enemies have found out the Secret to apply, to a heathen Philosopher, all the Qualities and Prophecies which relate to the Fore-runner of the Messiah; they may easily discover, in the Passages of the Scripture, any Thing they may take it into their Heads to justify, by virtue of the same Authority. Thou wilt possibly imagine that I banter, when I affure thee, that fome Nazarene Divines have been so filly as to transform a Philosopher, who was strongly suspected to be an Atheist, into a Forerunner of the Deity; but here follow Agrippa's Words: "The Divines of Cologn have writ a Book " to prove the Probability of Aristotle's Salvation; " and they did not scruple to advance that he had

^{*} Naudé, Apologie pour les grands Hommes faussement accusez de Magic.

" been the Fore-runner of the Messiah, with re-

" Baptist had been with regard to the Mysteries of

" Grace *."

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Are we to wonder, after this, dear Isaac, that certain Pontists should have considered this Greek Philosopher as one of the chief Apostles of the Nazarene Religion, whose Works had surnished a Subject for several Articles of Faith? However, they shew a Sincerity in this; and, how absurd soever it may be in Men to have acted in so injudicious a Manner, it is plain that Aristotle has frequently been ranked among the Fathers of the Nazarene Church. Father Paul says this very pleasantly, and shews admirably well the Ridicule of such an Opinion †.

If we may give Credit to a Jesuit, some Nazarenes did not proceed barely to Veneration, but paid divine Honours to Aristotle; and put the Categories of this Philosopher into the Hands of their Children, by way of Catechism. How dangerous soever, so strong an Instance of the extravagant Prepossession, entertained in favour of the Peripatetic Philosophy, might appear, it nevertheless has been adopted by

† In che haveva una gran Parte Aristotle coll'haver distinto essattamente tutti Generi di Cause, a cui se egli non se fosse adoperato, noi mancaremo di molti Articoli di Fede. Frà-Paoli, Histor. del Concilio Tridentino, Lib. ii.

Page 234.

Dignissimus profesto bodie Latinorum Gymnasiorum Doctor, & quem Colonienses mei Theologi etiam Divis adnumerarent, Librumque sub Prælo evulgatum ederent, cui Titulum facerent de Salute Aristotelis, sed & alium Versu & Metro de Vità & Morte Aristotelis, quem Theologicâ in uper Glossa illustrarunt, in cujus calce concludunt Aristotelem sic suisse Christi Præcursorem in Naturalibus, quemadmodum Joannes Baptissa in Gratuitis. Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiar. Chap. liv. Page 95.

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the Ignatian Society; and it is they, in this Age, who support and protect it, against the violent Attacks it daily meets with. The Jesuits, indeed, have not fet up any Images of Aristotle in their Churches; but then it would be a great Pleasure to them to instal him in the Number of the Fathers of the Church, and to put him in the Room of St. Austin, whose Writings have long been under their Displeasure. One would even conclude, that they had been labouring, these many Years, to bring that Project about. Their first Attempt, in order to prevent certain Tempers, who eafily take Fire, from giving the Alarm, was to suppose the Damnation of Aristotle to be a Matter altogether doubtful. But afterwards they went a little farther, and approved of those who believe, that it is probable Arisiotle was received into the Regions of Glory and Pelicity *. Thus far Matters went on very smoothly: But, unhappily for the Society, the Face of Things changed on a fudden; and that Bondage, which hood-winked Mankind, has been partly taken off by some illustrious Literati in these later Ages. This obliged them to lay afide intirely the Canonization of Aristotle; and all they have been able to do was to affert the Justness of his Opinions; raise the Peripatetic Philosophy to the Skies, and leave the Author of it in the infernal Regions.

Notwithstanding all the Endeavours which the Divines used to stop the Progress of the new Philosophy, yet, as its Glory increased daily, the Sorbonne thought of a whimsical Expedient, above an hundred Years since, to check its Course. They addressed the Parliament of Paris; and, upon their

^{*} Gretserus de variis Cœl. Luth. Cap. xiii. See the V. Part, or a Letter in the Mémoires de la République des Lettres.

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Remonstrances, an Arret came out against the Chemifts, the Purport whereof was, "That who foever " attacked the Opinions of Aristotle, attacked at " the same Time the School Divinity revived in the " Church *." What an excellent Decision, dear Isaac, was this! Methinks it would be equally judicious to affert, that no Frenchman, of what Rank or Condition soever, ought to make Use of his Reafon; it not being just that any particular Person should be in his Senses, fince all the Schoolmen are Fools. This ridiculous Arret or Decree, the Result of Ignorance and Prejudice, was yet far from being the most violent one passed in France, in Opposition to the Dictates of good Sense. Among a great Number of others, here follows one, that will always be confidered as very fingular by Potterity: " In the Year One thousand fix hundred and twenty-" fix, the Parliament of Paris banished out of their " Jurisdiction three Men, who were for afferting, " publicly, feveral Theses in Opposition to Ari-" Notle's Doctrine: And forbad all Persons to pub. " lish, sell, or distribute the Propositions contained. " in those Theses, upon Pain of corporal Punish-" ment; and to teach or inculcate any Maxims " that clashed with such ancient Authors as were " approved, upon Pain of Death +." After such Arret, what may we not expect, dear Isaac, from the Prejudices of Mankind? Had not a famous Poet of the present Age Reason to say, "That who-" foever diffents ever so little from the Opinions of " the Ancients, is' thought to be guilty of a most " horrid Attempt; and ftirs up, against an incon-" fiderate Modern, all that idolatrous Region,

^{*} Rapin, Comparaison de Platon & d'Aristote,

[†] Mercure François, Tone x. Page 504.

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where nothing is wanting, in the Worship there " paid to the Ancients, but Priefts and Victims *!" Is it not whimfical enough to fee the Members of the Parliament of Paris fet themselves up as Inquifitors in behalf of Aristotle, and favour his Opinions as much as the Dominicans in Spain do those of Thomas Aguinas? When we are told, that the chief Tribunal of a mighty Kingdom sentenced to Death any Person, who should presume to point out one fingle Error in the ancient Authors; can it be thought strange, that the Turks should employ the Scimiter and Gun to spread their Religion, and increase the Votaries of the Koran? The illustrious Sir Francis Bacon, who first dared, amidst the Gloom of the School-Philosophy, to endeavour to light himself with the Torch held out by Truth, was perfuaded of the Conformity found between the Ariflotelians and Peripatetics. He was of Opinion that both had equally established their Doctrines by Force and Prejudice +.

Thou very possibly, worthy Isaac, mayst have a Curiosity to know, what could have inclined the greatest Part of the Divines, especially the Schoolmen, to adhere so strongly to Aristotle. And as the

· Crébillon, Preface to bis Tragedy of Electra.

† Quod ad Placita antiquorum. Philosophorum quelia fuerunt Pythagoræ, Philolai, Xenophanis, Anaxagoræ, Parmenidis, Leucippi, Democriti, & aliorum, (quæ Homines contemptum percurrere solent) non abs re suerit paulò modestius in ea Oculos conjicere. Etsi enim Aristoteles, More Ottomannorum, regnare se baud tuto posse, nisi Fratres suos omnes contrucidasset, tamen iis, qui non Regnum aut Magisterium, sed Varietatis Inquisitionem atque Illustrationem sibi proponunt, non potest non videri Res utilis, diversas Diversorum, circa Rerum Naturam, Opiniones sub uno Aspectu intueri. Bacon. de Augmentis Scientian. Lib. iii. Page 88. col. 2. Edii. Lips. Johan. Justi Erythropili.

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Obstinacy of his Followers still continues, though Truth has pierced through the Cloud that concealed it, thou wilt not be displeased at my acquainting thee with some of the chief Reasons that give such great Vogue to the Peripatetic Philosophy, and endear it so much to the Jesuits. The chief Doctors among the Protestants inveighed very strongly against the Authority Aristotle had acquired: They charged him with holding Part of the erroneous Opinions they opposed; and complained, that Men fuffered themselves to be prejudiced by vain Subtleties, which ferved to no other Purpose than to mislead the human Mind, and prevent its getting Sight This Circumstance was sufficient to make the School-Philosophy facred to all their Adversaries, who give out, that the only Reason why they attacked Aristotle was, because his Works furnished such Arguments as proved the Errors of the Protestants, and filenced them at once. This Opinion has prevailed ever fince, and in all Probability Hatred will perpetuate it; fince in the late Age, spite of the learned Discoveries of Des Cartes, Gasfendi, Locke, Newton, and other immortal Genius's, this has not been able to prevent certain Perions, who had acquired the Reputation of Wits, from publishing Heaps of Impertinence. the Writers hinted at, we may, nay, we ought to give a diffinguished Place to Father Rapin, who, under the Title of Reflections on Philosophy, published one of the most absurd Books ever written on philosophical Subjects. This simple Man thought proper, in the Work in question, to out-do his usual Out-doings, and to advance a great many filly Particulars, still more trifling than those afferted by him in another Place, wherein, after bestowing the most extravagant Encomiums upon the most wretched Poet among the French, he quotes, as an Example

Example of the Sublime, one of the worst Passages

in the Poet in question.

The extravagant Encomiums, Friend Isaac, that have been bestowed on the Scholastic and Peripatetic Philosophy, make it still more contemptible in the Eyes of fuch exalted Genius's, as make Use of their Knowledge and Understanding, and judge of all Things without Partiality. For, if the several Divines who affert this Philosophy, would content themselves only with saying, that Aristotle was Mafter of a great Genius; this Truth, which is allowed by Persons of true Learning, would be granted them. And indeed this Greek Philosopher examined certain Questions with the utmost Clearness and Accuracy, and in fuch a Manner as proved him a great Master. There are excellent Things in his Poetics and his Rhetoric. But there are very great Faults in his Philosophy in general; but when a Person will adopt the several Errors of it, and endeavour to pass them off as useful and necessary Truths, the People in question make others approve of the Reproaches which have been cast upon it, and they cannot forbear crying out with a German Divine: Ought we to give the Name of Philosophy to a Rhapfody of Precepts, which teach us only to argue ofter a random Manner, and without the least Knowledge of the Matters we are speaking upon; Precepts, which teach us only to pronounce, in a very emphatic Tone of Voice, the Words Vacuum, Place, Time, Motion, and Infinite; which are of no Use; and only give Rife to Disputes, that make Persons less knowing than they were before *. We

^{*} Non mibi persuadebitis, inquit Lutherus, Philosophiam esse Garrulitatem illami de Materia, Motu, Infinito, Loco, Vacuo, I empore, quæ serè in Aristotele sola discimus: talia, quæ nec Intellectum, nec Affectum, nec communes Hominum

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We are forced, dear Isaac, to affent to the Truth advanced in the above Remarks. All the Complaints and Elogiums of Father Rapin meet with almost as few Partisans among Persons of good Sense, as the Memoirs of Trevoux do Readers among those of Taste, who are Lovers of Truth. It is to no Purpose for this Jesuit to affert, that nothing did more Honour to the Doctrine of Aristotle, that noble Philosopher, than the sparp Invectives of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, &a * Do not " waste your Spirits, may it be said to him, inin-" veighing against those Divines. We will allow, " if you will, that they are militaken in the Opi-" nions which relate to controversal Disputes; " but as, in those Things relating to the Peripatetic " Philosophy, the Council of Trent did not pro-" nounce that Aristotle was infallible, you will per-" mit us to condemn his Errors, and not approve " them, only because your Adversaries condemn " them; though you fhould declare us to be Here-" tics, or, which is still worse, Jansenists Good " Sense, Reason, and the Light of Nature, tuna-" nimously conspire to make us have a strong De-" fire to get acquainted with the modern Discove-" ries, for which we are obliged to the Philoso-" phers of the late and present Age. You may, if " you please, continue to amuse yourself with the " Chimeras of the Schoolmen; may fill your Mind with substantial Forms, Beings of Reason, and

minum Mores, quidquam juvent tantum Contentionibus serendis seminandisque idoneas Quod si maxime quid valerent, tot tamen Opinionibus confusa sunt, ut, quo quis certius aliquod sequi proposuerit, boc incertius feratur, & sero tamen, cum Proteo sibi fuisse negotium, pæniteat. Gretseri Inaugurat. Doctor. Page 43.

* Rapin, Comparaison de Platon & d'Aristote, Page

142.

110 The Jewish Spy. Let. 173.

" Categories, and may invent a barbarous Set of Terms, which throw the deepest Gloom and

Confusion over those Matters, in which some Glimmerings of Light remained; but we shall

be far from imitating your Example. On the

contrary, we will endeavour to strike into a Path quite opposite to yours; and will even affert, that

a Des Cartes and Newton have done as much Ser-

vice to Mankind, as the Schoolmen have done

". Prejudice to them.".

It were to be wished, Friend Isaac, that all the Nazarenes would address their Divines in these or such-like Words. They possibly might root out all their Prejudices; whereby we should at last see good Sense intirely freed from the Oppression under which it has so long groaned.

Enjoy thy Health, excellent Isaac; and be thy

Days contented and propitious.

London, the

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LETTER CLXXIII.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

In my last Letter, dear Monceca, I observed to thee the Conformity which is sometimes sound in Nations, whose Manners and Customs, at first View, seem most different. I shall now communicate to thee another Opinion, which appears to me no less probable than the former. I am of Opinion that we may compare, in many Things, the most vicious Men, not to those of the most virtuous Conduct, but to such as have acquired the most exalted Reputation. This is a manifest Proof that

true

true Merit has not folely determined, with regard to the Praises that have been lavished on many Persons, who often, though born for the Destruction of Mankind, had yet the Title of Hero bestowed upon them. It will be to no Purpose to attempt a Parallel between Socrates and Nero: But if, on the contrary, we should compare Nero with such Princes as have made the greatest Figure in the World, and who are considered as the mightiest and most illustrious Monarchs, it will appear he had several bad Qualities which were common to those Princes, but did not shine forth; or that did not incur the Displeasure of Mankind, because they were compensated by a considerable Number of Virtues.

Augustus, in the Beginning of his Reign, committed as many Murders as Nero did, at the Close of his. Julius Casar and Sylla did not murder their Mothers; but then they thrust a Dagger into the Heart of their Country. They trampled upon its Liberties, divested their Fellow-citizens of their Posessions, and butchered great Numbers of them. The Battle of Pharsalia, only, was more satal to the Romans than all Nero's Cruelties. By the Way, dear Monceca, it is not only among heathen Princes that many of Nero's Qualities are sound; all the most illustrious Heroes among the Nazarenes have had some Things in common with the most vicious. Princes.

themselves in the Administration. The sole Difference there was between the Jealoufy of those Princes is, the former possessed too great a Fund of Virtue to let it appear openly; and the latter followed, without the least Restraint, the cruel Dictates which it inspired. But notwithstanding all the exalted Qualities possessed by Henry IV, yet his Vanity would every now and then break the Chain with which he attempted to bind it. This Prince was greatly displeased at Marshal Biron for expatiating on the Victories he had gained : He has been a good Officer, would the King fay; but then be must own that I faved his Life three Times. I rescued him from the Enemy at Fontaine-Francoise; on which Occasion he was so terribly wounded, that as I had acted the Part of a common Soldier in faving him, I performed the Duties of a Marshal in the Retreat; be declaring, that he was not able to do any Thing upon that Occasion.

The Author, dear Monceca, from whom I copied this Passage, gives us another, that denotes still more plainly the Jealoufy Henry IV. entertained against this Marshal; and which would make one conjecture, that the Danger to which Henry exposed himself, in saving the Marshal's Life, was the Effect of Vanity rather than of true Friendship. " At " the Battle of Fontaine-Francoise, says the Writer " in question, the King rescued Marshal Biron, in " the Midst of the Fuziliers, who were firing upon " him. One of his Majesty's Servants said to him, " that he exposed himself too much to Danger, in " thus plunging inconfiderately into the Midst of " the Enemies. You fay true, replied the King; " but should I not do it, and keep back, Marshal Biron " will glory in this fo long as he lives "." True Glory, e

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^{*} Matthieu, Histoire de la Paix, Livr. IV. Page 286.

ry, excellent Monceca, does not think of what those Persons will say, in whose Favour we act; it confults itself only, and performs an Action from no

other Motives than that it thinks it a Duty.

Henry IV. is not the only Nazarene Hero, who had certain Imperfections which bear a perfect Refemblance to some of those of Nero. Lewis XIV. that great Prince, whom his very Enemies are forced to applaud; who was always extremely tender of his Subjects Lives; and, during the very long Reign he enjoyed, put to Death but one Criminal of Diffinction *; had certain Foibles that bore a still greater Resemblance than those of Henry IV. to the Vices of the Roman Emperor. He loved, like that Monarch, to shew himself in public Diversions, and permitted divine Honours to be paid him. The Romans never flattered their Emperors more than the French did their Grand Mo-One cannot read, without being feized with a Surprise mixed with Indignation, the Prologues of the Opera's fung in Presence of that Prince, and fo often repeated before the whole World. What more extravagant Expressions could have been employed by the Heathens, when they ranked them among the Gods, than those which occur so frequently in Quinaut's Works? He is worthy of Altars -His Thunder Arikes Terror, even at the Time when he is unactive, &c.

I am sensible, dear Monceca, that Lewis XIV, merited Applause on a Variety of Accounts: But then I likewife know, that he should not have been .. equalled to the Deity; and that his Passion for Ap- .. plause was extreme. A Nobleman of his Court t, prefumed to tell him his fincere Thoughts with re-

^{*} The Chevalier de Rohan. † Duke de Montausier.

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gard to so illaudable a Weakness: For this Prince happening to alk his Opinion about a new Opera: Sir, replied the Nobleman, I believe your Majesty deserves the Elogiums bestowed upon you; but I wonder you will permit them to be sung hy a Company of Knaves; and that your Subjects should be told of your Virtues on

ly in the Temple of Vice and Debauchery.

You perhaps, worthy Monceca, will scarce be able to believe what I am going to observe, and yet it is Matter of Fact: The miserable Prologues in question, interlarded with such extravagant and illaudable Encomiums, mortified very justly Lewis XIV. and the whole French Nation afterwards. A German Prince could not sorbear saying, maliciously indeed, to a French Prisoner, after the Battle of Hockstedt: Do the French, Sir, still continue to write

Opera-Prologues?

Since we meet, in Henry IV, and Lewis XIV, certain Particulars in which they may be compared to Tiberius and Nero, whose only Virtue was their Politics; judge whether it would be difficult to difcover in all Monarchs, how exalted foever their Fame may be, certain Imperfections found in the Charafteriffics of bad Princes. It must be confessed, that the Reputation of Philosophers only will stand the severest Tests. In inquiring into Socrates's Life, if we perceive that this great Man was not intirely free from Faults, they yet will be found fo inconfiderable, that they will not bear, in any Manner, a Parallel with those of Persons whose Vices have The more I examine the astonished the World. Character of Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Epictetus, &c. the more I find them contrary, even in the most minute Particulars, to that of Tiberius and Nero.

What Glory, excellent Monceca, does this diffuse over Philosophy! It tears up even the most inconsiderable n

eonsiderable Roots of Guilt, cleanses the Soul, and renders it worthy so noble a Guest as Philosophy. It produces what neither the Love of Glory, Vanity, nor a Thirst of Praise can atchieve. In fine, it forms perfect Heroes; whereas the Ambition of being esteemed by Men raises the human Mind only to a certain Point, but does not intirely eradicate its Weaknesses. This Truth may be proved in a very sensible Manner. To be convinced of it, we need but resteet, that the Love of acquiring a mighty Name formed Henry III. Lewis XIV. William III. Sixtus V. and such-like; and that the Study of Wisdom produced a Socrates, Locke, Gassendi, &c.

If Mankind, dear Monceca, knew the great Advantages which would accrue to them, in Cafe they would reflect feriously and regularly on their Conduct, the greatest Part would devote themselves to Philosophy. The Love of Happiness and Tranquillity, fo natural to the human Mind, would prompt them to this; and whenever they resolved to act agreeably to the Dictates of Prudence, they would eafily gratify all their Defires; at least it would not be difficult for them to find out which are the Faults they ought to avoid, and the Virtues they ought to practife: Nature has endued all Nations, bow barbarous foever, with the Faculty and Means of distinguishing what is bonest and useful from what is ignominious and burtful *. If they do not make Use of this Advantage, and seem to have

At qui nos Legem bonam a malâ, nullâ aliâ nisi Naturie Normâ, dividere possumus. Nec solum Jus & Injuria à Natura dijudicatur, sed omnino Honesta ac Turpia. Nam & communis Intelligentia nobis notas Res efficit, easque in Animis nostris inchoavit, ut in Honesta Virtute ponantur, in Vitiis Turpia. Cicero de Legibus, Lib. i. sol. 331.

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no Idea of it, it is owing to their Mind's being clouded by Prejudices and Passions, which prevent its acting with Freedom. We meet with fome Footsteps of these Ideas of Justice in Persons of the most cruel Dispositions, and brought up in the most barbarous Countries. I was told feveral Particulars, during my Stay in Tunis, relating to a Bey who reigned not long fince in that City. This Prince, at his Accession to the Throne, seemed not posfessed of one single Virtue, and to be intirely ignorant of the Qualities effential to a human Creature. Nevertheless, amidst his greatest Follies, some Traces of Friendship, of Liberality, and even Greatness of Soul were discovered. Thou thyself mayst form a Judgment of this from fome Things I will here relate.

The Name of this Bey was Amurath, who polfessed himself of the Throne by murthering his Uncle. He was furprifingly barbarous; but his riotous Excesses surpassed even his Cruelty. He imitated the Conduct of certain Nazarenes, who are for ever studying how to invent Dishes that might best fatiate their luxuriously-voracious Appetites. One Night, after having drunk very copiously, he went into one of the Prisons of the Nazarene Slaves. These poor unhappy Wretches were greatly surprised to fee their Sovereign come to pay them a Vifit, and especially at such an Hour. Knowing that he was drunk, they imagined that he was defirous of diverting himself with cutting some Heads off; but their Fears were groundless. Amurath, so far from entertaining Thoughts of putting any of the Slaves to Death, thought proper to eat and drink in their Prison. Accordingly, he commanded them to get ready an Entertainment; and not thinking their Wine good enough, he fent two of his Regalers to fetch some from the French Consul's, who furnished e

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furnished the Slaves with the Wine with which they entertained their Prince. Amurath drank with them till Day-break; when his good Humour increafing with the Wine, he resolved to divert himfelf with some Renegadoes, his Attendants, who had carouzed with him. You are a Parcel of Villains, fays he to them, who have denied your God; and I esteem infinitely more than I do you those poor Slaves, who, Spite of the Torments they suffer, are yet faithful to him. But I will reconcile you to your first Master; an Obligation you must owe to me. Then taking up a Cross, he obliged them all to kneel down, and kifs it. This Reconciliation was not fufficient to fatisfy his Zeal; for, after performing the Pastoral Office, he likewise discharged that of a Sacrificer, by striking of some of their Heads. He then performed the Office of Chaplain, by commanding these poor Slaves to fall upon their Knees. before one of the Altars fet up in a Corner of the Prison, and to say their usual Prayers. They obeyed his Commands; but one of them not appearing fo devout as Amurath would have had him, he gave him a Box on the Ear, faying, Rafeal, when a Person is before an Altar, he ought to offer up his Prayers to God with Reverence.

Here, dear Monceca, you have a Picture of A-murath's Extravagancies; and one would not expect that Amurath, after acting in so irrational a Manner, could have shewn the Generosity he did at his leaving the Prison. "It would be unjust, says he, in me to divert myself with these poor Slaves, who are but too unhappy already, by the ill Treatment they have met with from Fortune. I therefore, added he, will give them an hundred Pieces of Eight, to pay for the Wine they treated me with; and an hundred more to

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" repair the Chapel before which I obliged them to

" offer up Prayers to God."

Am I in the wrong, dear Monceca, to affert, that we perceive, in the most barbarous Nations, some Glimmerings of the Knowledge which all Men naturally possess of the moral Virtues, they have acquired when come to Years of Discretion? These Ideas are not innate in them, as certain Philosophers pretend; but present themselves spontaneously as it were, and are suggested whenever the Mind makes the least Restection on what passes in itself.

Amurath above-mentioned furnishes me with another Example to enforce my Opinion. This barbarous Prince had obliged a young Neapolitan, by clapping a Pistol to his Breast, to abjure the Christian Religion; after which he had appointed him his Casnader, and heaped great Riches upon him. However, these mighty Favours had not been able to win the Heart of this Italian, who would not have quitted his Religion, had he not been menaced with Death; and accordingly he fled fome Time af-The News of this plunged Amurath into the deepest Affliction; and fearing that his Favourite, who was the Guardian of all his Treasures, had carried them off; he ran and visited his Coffers, but found every thing fafe. He was struck with the Honesty of the Italian, and it raised in him Impulses he had never felt before. His Anger then made way for Grief; and being unwilling to be out-done in Generofity and Greatness of Soul, he sent back into Europe the Slave who used to wait upon his fugitive Favourite, and reftored him to his Liberty, upon Condition that he should put into his Hands two very fine Horses, which he ordered to be brought out of his own Stable, and fent him as a Testimony of his Effeem and Friendship.

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To these laudable Instances of Generosity he soon added others of a ridiculous and extravagant Kind, and foon reverted to his first Dictates. He one Day was for ordering all the Nazarene Merchants to receive the Bastinado, and particularly an Italian Goldsmith, merely because one of his Minions had He pretended that the Franks had corrupted him, and furnished him with an Opportunity of making his Escape. He even suspected the Italian Merchant had still more criminal Designs in view; and if, luckily for him, Cidi Hamet had not been catched, the poor Goldsmith would have received five hundred Blows, pursuant to his Sentence, without having committed any other Crime than his being a Native of Italy. This barbarous Prince could not conceive it possible, that one who was an Italian could once fee his dear Cidi Hamet, without feeling certain Emotions. It was upon the fame Supposition that he was going to inflict the like Punishment, as that to which the Goldsmith was fentenced, on three Neapolitan Monks, who under the Protection of France, had devoted themselves to the Service of Captives.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Monceca; mayst thou lead a contented and happy Life; and never be sub-

ject to the capricious Will of a cruel Man.

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LETTER CLXXIV.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conftantinople.

HE Language which the English, dear Isaac, fpeak at this Time, differs greatly from that fpoke by their Ancestors. The English is changed almost as much as the French; and those who, fome Centuries fince, were confidered as the Standards of fine Writing, are as utterly despised, with regard to the Diction. This Difference, indeed, between the ancient and modern Writers, is much more fenfible among the French than the English. With the former, certain Authors who flourished under Lewis XIII, are now looked upon as obsolete, and their Style is totally condemned. Montaigne's Essays must be very excellent in themselves, otherwife his Phraseology could not have pleased in this Spite of the Beauty and Ease of his Style, yet most Readers would have been disgusted at the worn-out Expressions, and obsolete Terms with which his Writings abound.

I do not know, Friend Isaac, whether the pertended Beauties that are daily added to the living Languages, and which are said to contribute to their Persection, are not prejudicial to polite Literature. It is certain, that the Alterations made in Languages cause several excellent Authors to sall into Oblivion, and consequently to be seldom or never read. In Case there should happen, two hundred Years hence, as great a Revolution in the

French

French Tongue, as has been found fince in the Reign of Henry II. what will become of the Works of Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Moliere, la Fontaine, &c. These will meet with the same Fate as those of Ronfard, and feveral others. Some learned Men would peep into them, and endeavour, through the Obscurity of the Diction, to which they would almost be Strangers, to discover the Beauty in the Thoughts of those illustrious Authors. But what a Prejudice would it be to the whole World not to be able to perceive all the Beauties contained in the most perfect Works the human Mind ever gave Birth to? How unhappy would it be for the French, living at that Time, to find the Diction of Mithridates and Phædra as harsh and inharmonious as that of Pyramus and Thifbe *? This is a Truth, dear Isaac, which all the Learned, whose Labours are calculated for the Good of the Public, ought to have for ever present to their Minds; and it would shew the highest Judgment in them to oppose all the Innovations which may be attempted to be introduced. For it is for the Interest of Literature. that they shew a Zeal for the Writers of the Ageof Lewis XIV. they being the true Models of the French Tongue.

Thou knowest, Friend Isaac, that some petty Authors or rather wretched Scribblers, finding themselves unable ever to acquire any Fame, so long as the Public shall be possessed of the excellent Works of Corneille, Racine, Molicre, la Bruyere, Patru, Boileau, and several others, endeavour to introduce a new Species of Writing, and to substitute, instead of the vigorous Beauties of those great Writers, glittering salse Thoughts, and an instand

Style, worthy of those affected Females,

* A Tragedy by Theophile.

When Moliere with a fingle Stroke cut down *.

But, if good Writers do not oppose the bad Taste, the French will revert, infenfibly, to that barbarous State, from which it was so extremely difficult for them to recover. Many begin already to be dazzled by the affected Phrases of a most ridiculous Kind; and, a furprifing Circumstance is, some Authors who, in other Respects, deserve the Esteem of all good Judges, have been fo weak as fometimes to write in this new, affected Manner. To make themselves fashionable, they have brought an Odium on their Works, and tarnished the just Reputation they had before acquired. The Example they fet had so pernicious a Tendency, that able Writers are alarmed, and have been fenfible that it might cause the greatest Consusion in Literature. A famous Author has inveighed strongly against these In-" One of our best Authors +, Says novations. " het, has lately split on the same Rock, and very much lessened the Merit of one of his Works, by interlarding it with fuch unufual Exor pressions; every one knows how he was laughed " at, for calling a Sun-dial, a Solar Register; a Bird-feller, a Trader in Warblings; a Fruit of an extraordinary Size, a Garden Phænomenon; " a moralizing Fox, a long-tailed Pythagoras; the " Uneafiness in Marriage, the Tid-bits of the " Hymeneal State, &c. The Writers of the pre-46 fent Age have justly exclaimed against such odd 4 Expressions, and consider them as the Dregs " of that trifling Jargon, which, by the Raillery

+ De la Motte, in bis Fables.

^{*} Boileau, Satyr X.

[†] Massieu, Présace des Oeuvres de Tourreil, Tom. i. Page 40.

" levelled at them in a Comedy *, had been ba" nished France; and it was thought, that the Au" thors of these Expressions intended to throw us
" back to the Period, in which the two Heroines
" of Moliere used to call Chairs, the Conveniencies
" of Conversation; and a Looking-glass, the Coun-

" fellor of the Graces."

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Yet this fmart and judicious Cenfure has not, excellent Isaac, put a Stop to the Currency of a new Language, in which Reason and good Taste were no Ways concerned. A great Number of pitiful Authors are now ambitious of stuffing their Works with forced, affected Words, and falfly refined, fustian Phrases, One would imagine that they had formed a Resolution utterly to destroy their native Tongue. Not contented with introducing numberless trifling Phrases which enervate it, they also prefume to exclaim against such as declare for the ancient Manner. To believe them, Corneille is harsh. Racine has too much Simplicity, Boileau is jejune, Vaugelas incorrect, Patru and Bourdaloue too uniform. They repeat so very often these impertinent Reproaches, that they at last win over a great Number of Witlings, who are unhappily mifled by their affected Antitheses, their broken farfetched Phrases, and their forced Sallies, in Comparison of which, the tinfel Concetti of the Italians may be looked upon as genuine Beauties. The Women and Foplings, who both are great Lovers of Innovations, perfectly espouse all unnatural, high-flown Expressions; and, unhappily for police Literature, according to half the People who read Books, it is with Works of Wit as with Gowns and Head-dresses, those in the newest Fashion are always preferred, fuch especially as discover an Air

[·] Les Précieuses ridicules.

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of Singularity. If Madam de Valledieu was now living, and would publish her Exiles of Augustus's Court, a delightful Book dictated by the Muses, I know not whether it would be well received by the Public. Perhaps it would pass as writ with too great Simplicity; for the French, for some Years last past, have been regaled with Beauties that were altogether unnatural; and they delight in salse Thoughts, expressed in almost an unintelligible Manner.

If this odd Tafte should continue to prevail so much among us, what a pitiful Language will the French transmit to Posterity, and what fort of Writers will they propose to it as the Models of Perfection? Instead of Racine they will give them Mouly; and Marivaux instead of Corneille. Should this be the Case, I pity them heartily, as well as polite Literature. I before, Friend Isaac *, presented thee with a flight Character of this Marivaux: He is one of the Chief of the Innovators. He does not, perhaps, want Wit, and even feems to be a Man of Reflection; but his good Qualities are quite eclipsed by his Manner of Expression. He can never prevail with himself to express the most simple Things with Simplicity. Whenever a Person, in any of his Works, defires to bid another good Morrow, fuch a Person will employ some far-fetched Phrase, and affect to introduce the most refined Wit in this common Compliment. This Writer will employ three or four Pages in describing a false Devotee; and after we have read it, we are furprifed to find we have learned nothing, except that she endeavoured to conceal her Years, by the Gaiety of her Drefs. Among the vaft Variety of Phrases, where the Thought is fet in an hundred different

^{*} Letter XIII. Tom. i. Page 108.

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Lights, here follow fome, by which thou mayst form a Judgment of his Diction: "This Wo-" man always appeared in a modest Dress; in such " a Manner, however, as did not eclipse any of her " native Charms. A Woman might dress in this " Manner in the View of pleasing, without being " accused of aiming to please. I say, a Woman " who was a Coquet in her Heart; for the must " be fuch, in order to aim at Conquests by that Sort " of Dress. There were some little concealed " Springs, to make her as graceful as decent, and " perhaps more killing than the most studied Drefs. "Two Things I mean were her fine Hands and " her pretty Arms, under plain Linnen; this fet " off their Beauty, and made them strike the more, " &c. *" This affected Style, good Isaac, and these far-fetched Phrases are far from being true Beauties. The Mind, when directed by good Tafte, expresses itself in a more easy and natural Manner. These, however, are not the most affected Strokes in the Picture in question; here follow some that are still more so: "To come to her Face. At the " first Sight of the Person thus dressed we should " have faid to ourselves, There must be a grave staid " Woman. At the fecond Glance, There is a Wo-" man has acquired that Air of Wisdom and Probi-" ty. But this was far from being her Character: " At the third Glance, we suspected her being a " very witty Woman; and this Conjecture was " just." Can any Thing, dear Isaac, be so burlesque as these first, second, and third Glances, each of which becomes fomething; and the Particle there, fo industriously repeated to no Purpose? Would one not imagine, that fuch a Phraseology was copied from that of a Poet whom Moliere has so happily

^{*} Marivaux, Païsan parvenu.

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ridiculed, in his Misantrope? And are they not in the same Strain with the following Verses, so often repeated in the Female Pedants of that comic Writer?

When thou hear'st that Coach was prais'd, Where Gold on Gold so high is rais'd,

Say not, that 'tis gay Amasent's, But the bles'd Product of my Rents.

How ridiculous foever, dear Isaac, the Passage may be which I have censured, it yet has been highly applauded by some People. Certain Journalists have quoted it as a capital Stroke. " A Writer, " fay they, must have a great Knowledge of the "World, to describe so fully a Character so very " difficult to hit; and not a little Art, to have " discovered and drawn it in such agreeable Co-" lours *." What Opinion will you entertain, worthy Haac, of the Tafte and Knowledge of such Critics, who, in their Elogium of a Book, pitch upon the most trifling Passage in it, as a Specimen of its Beauties; and who, fetting up themselves as supreme Judges of Works of Wit, are so filly as to approve fuch Touches, as are most repugnant to good Sense, and most capable of corrupting it? If it was a Custom, in the Republic of Letters, to punish such Writers as publish unjust Decisions, how feverely do the Journalists + in question deserve to be

* Journal Literaire, Tom. xxii. p. 463.

† The Literary Journal, certain Parts of which are still printed at different Intervals, was first writ by some Genslemen of equal Learning and Probity. But in June 1732, the Right of the Copy being given up to another Bookseller, the Persons who were concerned till then in the Work in question, did not care to continue it for him; upon which that

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be chastised? They ought to be so the more rigoroully, as it is very common with them to publish Reflections equally false and ridiculous as that above cited. They take a great Pleasure in applauding every Thing in a bombast Strain. Here follows a fecond Example of this. In the Extract given by them of the Entretiens Physiques, or Philosophical Conversations, by Regnault the Jesuit, they have praised this Book to the Skies, the Absurdities of which I shall one Day point out to thee +. Not contented with faying, that this Author " is a Ge-" nius of the first Magnitude, who was a thorough " Master of ancient and modern Physics;" they even applaud his Diction, compared to which, that of Marivaux is simple and natural. They did not stop here; for, to make the Elogium they bestowed still more suitable to the Book taken in Hand by them, they made Use of far-fetched Expressions, and Phrases in the new Mode. "Nothing can be sweet-" er, fay they, and more delicate than the first " Letter 1." But how admirably do the Words

that Bookseller employed, in their stead, two or three wretched Scribblers. The two apostate Monks who published the odious Continuation of Rapin's excellent History of England, were the principal Authors of that pitiful Journal. At this Time the apostate Jesuit is the only Person who draws up the chief Extracts. He writes with the same Spirit, and in the same Taste with his quondam Brethren. And indeed it may be affirmed, that this Literary Journal is as shocking as that of Trevoux, for the Impudence and Falshood discovered in every Part of it. The Public despised this contemptible Journal; by which Means it has lost all its Credit, so that the Bookseller sometimes lets whole Years pass away, without printing any Part of it.

+ See the VIIIth Letter or Part of the Secret Memoirs

of the Republic of Letters.

1 Journal Literaire, Tom. xxiii. p. 222.

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fweeter and delicate suit a Book, especially a Philosophical Treatise? Till now it was thought, that it was usual to say, a Peruke that sits well, and a pretty little Dog; but People are greatly mistaken, they ought to say, a Peruke filled with excellent Particulars; a Dog writes in a delicate Style; and a pretty

Sweet Book.

But now comes the Passage of Regnault which gave Occasion to the many charming Things said by the Journalists. I am persuaded they will not displease thee. " Whenever any Cloud, says be, " takes from our Eyes, in the Night, the azure Sky, interspersed with Stars, it is merely to vary our Pleasures. The Atmosphere then displays its Phænomena. One would fometimes imagine, that Aurora was going to appear even in the " Evening. Sometimes the Thunder roars; but, " as Thunder is dreaded but an Instant, and that " Naturalists are able to discover that formidable " Instant, this Noise, which spreads Terror a-" round, is no Ways formidable to them. WHAT " DO I SAY? The fantaffical Play of the Thun-"der is an agreeable Amusement to those who take " Notice of it." Such is the Passage in the Jesuit, and here follows the fage Reflection made by the Journalists. Did ever Rehault, Paschal, Kircher, Des Cartes, Diogenes, Laertius, or Aristotle, express themselves in such agreeable Terms? No, indeed, worthy Isaac; Des Cartes never scribbled such He had too much good Sense, to fill Fustian. whole Pages with a Rhapfody of Words that imply nothing, at least that are altogether useless. azure Sky, interspersed with Stars, Images that had been worn thread-bare these ten Centuries; and that misplaced Exclamation, WHAT DO I SAY? would have been confidered, by him, as affected Exprefsions, and childish Strokes, unworthy a good Writer,

ter, and particularly a Philosopher. Must not a Writer be out of his Senses, nay, be lost to all Shame, to venture to put this vicious Diction in parallel with that of Paschal? What may we not expect from Writers whose Taste is so fantastical

and corrupted?

Had not a judicious Author of this Age Reason to cry out: " To what Excesses will not Writers " proceed in this Age! They not only endeavour " to deprive us of those noble Models which the " Ancients have left us, but they also would tu n " away our Steps from those fafe Paths which for e " excellent Moderns have chalked out to us within " these fifty Years. People begin to think that " their Works are too much neglected. " now leave the natural Beauties which were the " fole Object of their Care, and are studious of " nothing but far-fetched Ornaments. They de-" viate from their periodical harmonious Style, to-" give into a dif-jointed Phraseology, that is alto-" gether unmufical. In Place of the happy. Ir-" regularities which they used to leave defignedly " in their Compositions; and which, in Reality, " give great Energy and Fire to a Piece of Wri-" ting; they substitute a dull Exactness, which-" only enervates, and takes off from the Rapidity " of the Diction .- Now, nothing is fought " after but Wit; and Pieces are now comperfed of " as many finart Strokes as Words. An Ode is " merely a String of Epigrams methodically digest-" ed; and a Preface is a Rhapfody of far-fetched " Reflections *."

This Passage, dear Isaac, all the French ought to have perpetually before their Eyes. Happy

Maffieu, Préface des Oeuvres de Tourreil, Tom. i. Pag. 40.

from delighting in fuch false Beauties, and would never pretend to put Locke's masculine, majestic Style in parallel with that of a Writer such as Reg. nault the Jesuit. If any Journalist among them was so ignorant, or so fantastical, as to speak in fayour of so ridiculous a Way of Writing, both the Author and his Panegyrist would be equally laughed at.

Enjoy thy Health, Friend Isaac, live contented and happy, and never let infipid Compositions bribe thy Applause.

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LETTER CLXXV.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, & CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

I Sometimes reflect, Friend Isaac, on the Injustice of Men, who can scarce be prevailed upon to bestow, on eminent Persons, when living, the Praises they so lavishly heap on those who died some Centuries ago. Envy is a Disease, or rather a Pest, which spreads its Venom into every Heart, and eafily shifts from the Great to the Vulgar, and from the Vulgar to the Great. Though one would imagine, that no Jealoufy could possibly arise between Per-

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fons fet at a great Distance one from the other, by Birth, Condition, Employment, and Character, and even Country; nevertheless, Self-Love, which is found in every Mind, raifes up, against conspicuous Personages, invidious Men in all Nations. People seem displeased to see a Man, in his Lifetime, endeavour to attract, by his Virtues, his Talents, and his Merit, a Sort of Veneration, which, by raising him, humbles those who are forced to pay him Honour. The Glory of a living Hero is an Eye-fore to fuch as are Witnesses of it. However, no fooner is this Hero numbered among the Dead, but People are for doing him Justice; and the Day of his Death they are willing to make the first for Perhaps too Envy may have a praifing him. confiderable Share in the Applauses which are beflowed upon him; and that the only Motive why People cry up his Actions and exalted Qualities is to have the malicious Pleasure of lessening those of fome other living Hero.

How many Writers drew up the Elogiums of Lewis XIII. and Henry IV. Kings of France, in no other View but to oppose it to that of Lewis XIV. I was affured, when in France, by Chevalier de Maisin, that he knew an old Officer, who, on all Occasions, affected to applaud, in the most extravagant Terms, Marshal Turenne, in Presence of Marshal Villars; and that he would expatiate chiefly on the Generofity and difinterested Temper of the former. But these Encomiums were dictated by Envy and Jealousy, rather than by a Defire of doing Justice to the Merit of the great General in question. And yet Marshal Villars, though not fo generous as some other Commanders, neverthele's equalled the Glory of the greatest and most fortunate of them. His Virtues indeed were sometimes clouded by the Love he bore to Money; and yet, G 6 though

though he himself was sensible how illaudable such a Passion is, he suffered himself to be hurried away by his natural Propension, believing it impossible for him ever to get the better of it. He would often be the first to rally himself upon that Vice, of which the following is a singular Instance: Upon his entering upon the Government of Provence, the Deputies of it made him a Present, as was the usual Custom, of twenty thousand Livres in a Purse. As he seemed highly pleased at the Donation, an old Gentleman said very freely to him, My Lord Duke de Vendome, your Predecessor, was contented to take the Purse. The Marshal replied, with the utmost Calmness: Duke de Vendome was really inimitable.

To return, Friend Isaac, to the Partiality of those who will not do Justice to Persons of Ability in their Life-time, and who feek only for Opportunities of fatisfying their Jealoufy, or of pleafing their detracting or envious Dispositions: Were illustrious Persons, who have been dead many Years, and whom the invidious People in question set so high above the Living, to rife from the Grave, they would calumniate them as much in Proportion as they now applaud them. If we examine Things impartially, we shall perceive that in almost all Ages, there have been Heroes, who may be put in parallel with all those whose Actions have been transmitted to us by ancient Authors. Methinks I find, in these latter Ages, several great Men, who may justly be put upon a Level with fuch as Rome gave Birth to, when in her highest Point of Glory.

Scipio Africanus was not a greater Man than Henry IV. There required as much Strength, Genius, Greatness of Soul, and Intrepidity, to atchieve all the Actions of the latter, as to perform

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what was done by the former. Scipio, being supported by a good Army, drove Hannibal out of Italy; revived the Courage of the Romans, who were terrified at the Loss they had sustained at Cannæ; carried, among the Carthaginians, the Terrors of a cruel War, with which they before had set Italy on Fire; and at last, in triumphing over Numantia and Carthage, freed Rome from that haughty and

dangerous Rival.

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Henry IV. at the Head of a Parcel of Soldiers who were half-naked, having no Money, nor any other Succour but his Bravery and his just Claim, attempts to recover his Crown. He conquers his Kingdom, which had been usurped by the Leaguers, the Spaniards, the Friars, and the Court of Rome. He executes all his Defigns; and, after establishing himself on the Throne of his Ancestors, he makes those very Spaniards tremble, who, some Years before, adding Contempt to Presumption, used to call him nothing but the Bearnois. The Affairs of Henry IV. were in a much more shattered Condition, after the Death of his Predecessor, than that of the Romans after the Battle of Canna. They, at least, had Money, as well as Opportunities of recruiting their Army. But the French Hero, fo far from having the like Succours, at the Time when he had: recovered three Fourths of his Kingdom, was obliged to write a Letter to one of his Generals, in which he informed him, that his Finances were fo miferably low, that, for a Week past, he was reduced to the Necessity of eating at the Tables of his Officers, his Pot not being in a Condition to boil any longer, and his Purveyors not having a Shilling left. Nor was his Wardrobe in a better State than his Kitchin; he complaining, in the same Letter, that his Shirts began to be out at the Arms, and that he had not one complete Furniture for a fingle Horfe, though he expelled. petted to attack the Enemy every Moment. It must be confessed, that the Situation of the Affairs of Henry IV. and those of Scipio, differed widely; and that, nevertheless, the one has atchieved as mighty

Things as the other.

William III. may be compared to Julius Cafar, with as much Reason and Equity as Henry IV. with Scipio. Heroes are not to be estimated by the Extent of their Conquests, but by the Greatness of their Souls, and the Intrepidity necessary for forming those Conquests. Cafar subdued the Gauls, after carrying on a War ten Years against them, Is it so very extraordinary a Thing that a General, who is at the Head of an Army of excellent Soldiers, who has an Opportunity of recruiting them with Ease, who is supplied with every Thing he wants in the most abundant Manner, should at last conquer fix or seven Provinces? Were the French to enter Italy, and the rest of Europe were to stand unconcerned, would it be any great Wonder should they conquer Piedmont, the Milanese, the Boulognois, and the Kingdom of Naples, after carrying on a ten Years War? People would wonder, on the contrary, that they should employ so many Years in Such is pretty near the Light in which we ought to consider the War carried on by Cafar in Gaul. I grant that the People against whom he fought were much more valiant than the Milanese and Neapolitans: But, on the other Hand, was not the Roman Commonwealth infinitely more confiderable than that of the French in this Age? A Roman Conful used to see as many Kings in his Anti-Chamber, as a French Minister of State sees Dukes and Peers in his.

Cæsar doubtless was greater in the Civil Wars, than in that waged by him against the Gauls. At the Time that he was opposed by Pompey, and the greatest greatest Part of the Commonwealth against him, he was forced to summon up all his Prudence and Valour to conquer his Enemies. I own that, on this Occasion, the Advantage was equal on both Sides, and that he was obliged to none but himself for his Victories. But how samous soever the Battle of Pharfalia may be, it yet is easier for a Commander to get Possession of the whole World, at the Time that he is affished and supported by half of it, than to gain a Kingdom, in the Eyes of all Europe: and this without any other Succour than that of a Commonwealth, all whose Dominions are not so large as one of the Provinces of a powerful and victorious Monarch, whose Interest it was to oppose that Conquest. Let us examine this Affair with Impartiality.

Let us figure to ourselves King William III. landing in England, and there getting himself recognized Monarch of three Kingdoms: Let us afterwards accompany him into Ireland, crushing the Rebellious with Thunderbolts he hurled; let us consider him as maintaining, spite of his Enemies, the Kingdoms he had got Possession of; and, at last dying peaceably on the Throne which he had gained by his Valour; beloved by the worthy among his Subjects, dreaded by his Enemies, and admired by most Monarchs; we shall be obliged to confess, that this Prince was not inferior to the Vanquisher of the

Gauls and of Pompey.

It is not only, Friend Isaac, among Princes and Generals, that we meet with this Equality which I suppose to be in great Men both ancient and modern. In all Ages Heroes of every Kind are seen to rise; and there is not an illustrious Person among the Romans, whatever may have been his Condition of Lise, but some one, born in the late Ages, may be sound to compare with him. The Roman Historians speak of the Clemency, Probity, and Sincerity,

cerity, of some Generals, who, to the military Virtues, joined those which form effentially the wise Man, and the true Philosopher. Bayard, an illustrious French Knight, who lived under Lewis XII. and Francis I. equalled Cato in Probity, Coriolanus in Valour, Horatius Cocles in Intrepidity, Minutius Scavola in Greatness of Soul, and Scipio in Modesty and Reserve.

I shall not mention here, worthy Isaac, any of the warlike Atchievements of this Hero: Thou doubtless must have read them in the History of the Monarchs under whom he fought. I shall therefore content myself with taking Notice only of one Particular relating to his moral Virtues. At his Return from the Army of Italy, he made some Stay in Grenoble, at a Relation's House; and, being defirous of solacing himself after his military Toils, he ordered his Valet de Chambre to look out for fome good-natured Girl, for him to pass the Night with. The Servant, in Compliance with his Master's Commands, went to a Woman of Distinction, who, being reduced to the Extremes of Necessity, consented to deliver up her Daughter, a Girl of about fixteen or feventeen Years of Aze, in Consideration of a certain Sum of Money. It was with infinite Difficulty that the Mother prevailed with her Daughter to agree to the Bargain. At last, whether through Fear or Necessity, this young Victim went, at Night, to the Apartment of the Chevalier Bayard, who was greatly furprised to see a young Person, beautiful as Venus, throw herself at his Feet, and water them with her Tears. What Affliction, young Maiden, is this that Seizes you, says the Chevalier? I imagined to find you inclined to laugh rather than to weep. Alas! Sir, replied the Maiden, I know but too well the Errand upon which my Mother fent me hither. Poverty obliged

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her to commit an Action unworthy of her; but I must obey her Commands. However, Heaven is my Witness, that I wish for Death; and I should think myself happy, had I long since been numbered among the Dead.

Bayard, moved at the Tears of this fair Complainant, defired her to take Heart, protesting that he would not do any Thing the should have Caufe to repent of; but that, on the contrary, she should have Reason to applaud his Behaviour. God forbid, fays he, I should offer to rob a Person of ber Honour, who prizes it so highly. I will even use my Endeavours to secure it, for ever, from the Attacks of Poverty. Saying this, he sent for the young Woman's Mother, and, prefenting her to her, faid, Here are four hundred Crowns for your Daughter's Portion, and an hundred more to buy her Clothes. Heaven is my Witness that I would do more for her, if it laid in my Power. Get her therefore a Husband as foon as you can, and endeavour, by procuring her a happy Establishment, to repair the Injury you intended to do her.

If we inquire, excellent Isaac, into the noblest and most generous Actions performed among the Ancients, I question whether we shall find many of a brighter Cast. What a Number of Incidents, worthy the Esteem of Posterity, have happened in our Age, which yet, by their not having been taken Notice of by some Writer, will be buried in eternal Oblivion? If our Descendants should admire former Ages more than the present, this will not be the Fault of a considerable Number of wise and virtuous Persons living at this Time, but that of the Historians, who chuse to sill their Works with an hundred trisling Rhapsodies rather than with some instructive Incidents.

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I will conclude my Letter, dear Isaac, with an Adventure of the like Kind, which happened, in our Days, to an illustrious German Cardinal, who died not many Years fince. He refided commonly in Rome, and the Poor confidered him as their Parent, he spending the greatest Part of his Revenues in their Relief. An ancient Woman, in particular, was fensible of the great Generosity of this venerable Prelate. She was feized by a Citizen of Rome, to whom the owed fifteen Crowns, without being able to pay him. The Creditor was for ever threatening to fue her, when the always begged him to have Patience, promising to pay him at a certain Time, which she yet was not able to do. One Day, as she was going to her Creditor's, in order to procure, if possible, a farther Delay, her Daughter, who was a very beautiful young Woman, went along with her. Immediately the lustful Italian, fixing his Eyes on this blooming Fair, felt certain Motions, and offered to give the Mother a Receipt in full, in Case he might have the Satisfaction of lying with her Daughter. The wretched Parent promised that he should, in Case she did not bring him the Money in a Week. During this Interval, the did nothing but bewail her Fate with incessant Tears; but this was of no Service towards her getting the Money. At last, there remained but one Day; after which, the must either pay the Debt, or deliver up her Daughter. In this Extremity the resolved to address the Cardinal, of whose Generosity she had heard so many Encomiums, by Persons in the like unhappy Circumstances with herself. Accordingly, the threw herself at his Feet, and confessed to him the sad Dilemma she was in. The Cardinal immediately gave her an Order upon his Treasurer, to the Amount of fixty Crowns. The good Woman did not

not know the Contents of the Order, (she not being able to read) fo was vastly surprised when threescore Crowns were counted out to her. The Clerk, who was for paying her the Money, could never prevail upon her to take it, she faying, that his Eminence must certainly be mistaken, she having defired no more than fifteen Crowns. The Treasurer would not take the Order, but upon Condition that the should receive the whole Sum; but she was inflexible in her Resolution. She then returned to the Cardinal, when giving him back his Order: Your Eminence, fays she, must be mistaken, in writing sixty Crowns instead of fifteen. Your Treasurer would not take the Order, except I received the whole Sum; and I could never prevail upon him to count me out only the Money I asked for. The Cardinal, admiring the Probity of this poor Woman, rewarded her in the most You are in the right, fays he, I liberal Manner. was mistaken. Instead of Threescore I intended to put five Hundred. Go, honest Woman; do not give yourfelf the Trouble to come any more; and with this Money purchase a good Husband for your Daughter.

I know not, Friend Isaac, which of these two Actions is most praise-worthy, that of the Cardinal, or that of the Woman above-mentioned. Had this Incident happened among the ancient Romans, Livy, Florus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus would have inserted it in their Works; and perhaps no modern Historian may ever make the least Men-

tion of it.

Enjoy thy Health, good Isaac, live contented and happy, and always do Justice to any generous Actions thou mayest discover.

London, the -

LETTER CLXXVI.

AARON MONCECA to JACOB BRITO.

THE surprising Catastrophes, worthy Brito, that happen so frequently in Africa, and the tragical Death of the Algerine Princes whom thou spakest to me of in thy last Letters, made me reslect on the fad Fate of many European Princes, who, one would have imagined, upon all Accounts, must have been secure from any cruel Reverses of Fortune. Their Unhappiness was so much the greater, as it was impossible for them ever to think of preparing, in their Security, a proper Succour against the fad Fate that oppressed them on a sudden; and in this they were much more to be pitied than the

African Princes.

When an Algerine Monarch is crowned, the Death which his Predecessor came to, informs him what he may expect his own to be; at least it furnishes him with a large Scope for reflecting on the Instability of all human Grandeur. But a French Monarch, or a German Sovereign, fee nothing, upon their ascending the Throne, but the Glory that furrounds it; and are even persuaded, that it would be impossible for a Thunder-bolt to strike them from it. Nevertheless, spite of the Presumption of those Kings, intoxicated with Pride and Vanity, how many of them, after being raifed to the highest Point of Felicity and Glory, have, at last, been plunged into an Abyss of Missor-tunes? Some of them have been treated with as Some of them have been treated with as

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great Ignominy as the most abandoned Villains; and the Remembrance of the Evils they suffered still intimidates those who read the Histories of the fad Fall and tragical End of a great Number of Monarchs. Without calling to mind the Misfortunes of fo many Princes and great Men, Relations of which are found in ancient History; and paffing over Marius, Cato, Regulus, and a vaft many more; if we fix only on the deplorable End of Pompey, how vast a Field is opened to us, for reflecting on the uncertain Fate of the greatest Men, how exalted foever their Power and Authority may have been? A Monarch, as a Lesson for him not to be proud of his high Condition, need but confider of Pompey, some Time before the Battle of Pharfalia. He sees him Master over those who held the Sovereignty of the World; more absolute in the Senate than a King in the Midft of his Privy Council; at the Head of a noble Army, and commanding over a Croud of Kings. It is impossible for Man to be furrounded with a brighter Blaze of Glory: Yet how was it afterwards clouded, and how wretched was the Fate of that illustrious Roman, when he fled from the Fields of Pharfalia? He is profcribed, and forfaken by all his Allies; cannot find an Afylum even in those Places, where, but a little before, he commanded; and he, at last, is butchered by a Parcel of vile Slaves, by infamous Egyptians, who would not have dared to infult the meanest Roman Soldier. the Time that he is killed, his few remaining Friends, instead of using their Endeavours to succour him, are wholly taken up with their own Fears; do not allow themselves Time to pity him; and only confider how they may best secure their own

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ewn Lives by Flight*. What a dreadful End, excellent Brito, was this! What a dreadful Example is it of the Capriciousness of Fortune! what Man could ever have believed, when Pompey went to the Capitol in Triumph, that one Day this Hero, the Admiration of the whole World, should be sentenced to die by a few miserable Egyptians? Would not any Person who should have foretold such a Thing have been looked upon as a Madman?

Such Catastrophes, good Brito, occur not only among the Ancients, the latter Ages abound but too much in them; modern History is full of them, and relates some that are still more terrible. There is nothing infamous in Pompey's Death, which may be considered as a Consequence attending on the Calamities of War. But, within these sew Centuries, there is no Kingdom, not even such as boast the most happy Frame of Government, in Europe, but surnish some satal Tragedy, attended with such Circumstances as even fright such as are most used to restect on the Inconstancy of Fortune.

Before we come to the most civilized Nations, let us stop, Friend Brito, some time in Constantinople. Let us take a View of Osman, carried through all the Streets, fixed upon an Ass; and insulted in the most cruel Manner by the mad Populace, and the insolent Soldiery. Those very Ja-

^{*} Constabat eos qui occidentem Vulneribus Cn. Pompeium widissent, cum in illo ipso acerbissimo miserrimoque Spectasulo sibi timerent, quòd se Classe Hostium circumssusos widerent, nibil tum aliud egisse nisi ut Remiges hortarentur, &
ut Salutem adipiscerentur Fugâ, posquam Tyrum wenissent
tum adsistari lamenterique carpisse. Cicero, Orat. ad Brutum, Cap. VII.

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nizaries who then spit in Osman's Face, did not dare to speak to him, two Days before, when they were prostrate at his Feet, and afraid of lifting up their Eyes to him. Who could ever have believed than an Emperor, fprung from the Blood of the Ottomans, fo highly revered by the Turks, and fo dear to the Soldiers, would ever have suffered Indignities to which a Nazarene condemned to die for the most enormous Crimes, was never exposed? I am certain, dear Brito, that those who insulted Ofman in this fhameful Manner, far from thinking, a Month before their Insurrection, that such a Revolution could ever have been brought about would have killed any Person who should have dared to hint any fuch Thing. For the Janizaries to dethrone their Sultan, and facrifice his Life to his Successor, this is feen so very often, that it does not any Way furprise. But for these very Janizaries to insult the Blood and the Name of the Ottomans; to refuse Honours of every Kind to the Body of the Prince murthered by them; to expose him to the Scorn of the Populace before they deliver him up to the Mutes armed with the deadly Bow-string; this is a most extraordinary Circumstance, and proves the strange Lengths to which the Caprice of Fortune may go.

Bajazet's Fate, how cruel soever, does not strike so much as that of Ofman. The former was forced to submit to whatever Punishment a proud victorious Enemy should please to inslict upon him. Though he might not expect to be treated with so much Severity as he met with from Tamerlane, yet he could not but believe that the Victor would take a sharp Revenge. The latter, on the contrary, had Custom, Prejudices, Superstition, Reason and Equity

on his side; and yet these could not save him.

It were to be wished, worthy Brito, that the Calamities which have befallen feveral Princes, had made as ftrong an Impression on the Minds of their Successors, as the Missortunes of Bajazet did on those of the Ottoman Princes. How much would this diminish the Abuses found in Europe! whereas the Turkish Sultans, through a false and ridiculous Shame, have left off the Custom of marrying, to prevent the Ottoman Blood from being ever exposed again to the Infults which that Prince met with, when, being shut up in an Iron Cage, Tamerlane caused himself to be attended by Bajazet's Wives, flark naked: To prevent, I say, Accidents that never happen but once, and cure an imaginary Evil by a real one, the European Monarchs should have enacted Laws, forbidding their Successors to incroach upon the Rights of their Subjects; and enjoining them to confider their People in the same amiable Light as a Father does his Children. tragical End of several Nazarene Monarchs would thave suggested Arguments enough to them to establish such Laws, equally useful to the Security of the Sovereign, and the Tranquillity of the Subject.

When I examine, dear Brito, the fad End of several Nazarene Princes, and of some Princesses of the same Religion, this surprises me still more than the Catastrophe of Bajazet and Osman. Actions of the most cruel and bloody Nature may naturally be expected among Nations subject to perpetual Revolutions, who are guided solely by their Caprice and first Impulses. But that, in polite Nations, who profess to sollow the Dictates of right Reason, so many Monarchs should have come to so ignominious an End, this is a Circumstance I scarce know how to account for; and it cannot

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The first untimely End, that now occurs to me, is that of Brunehalt, Queen of France. I will not pretend to fay, whether that Princess was really guilty of all the enormous Crimes laid to her Charge. Some very eminent Authors attempted to apologize for her in the last Age; and, a Circumstance which feems to confirm their Opinion is, the Elogiums beflowed upon her by a famous Roman Pontiff *, he applauding her to the Skies. Be this as it will, how blame-worthy foever her Conduct may have been; yet those who punished her should have paid a Regard to her Birth and Rank, and have respected, in her Person, that of other Monarchs. The Laws of Decency and of Reason, and the Dignity which the Throne claims, require the widest Difference to be made between the Punishment of a Queen, and that of a Highwayman, or Allassin. Nevertheless, the ill-fated Brunehalt met with a more cruel Treatment than that inflicted on Cartouch and Guignard, the Jesuit. She was sentenced, says a celebrated Historian +, to be tortured three Days in private; after which she was carried upon a Camel all through the Camp, not so much in the Design that her Army might behold her in that wretched Difguise, as that she might be treated in the mist injurious Manner possible by the meanest Individuals belonging to it. At last she was Jentenced to be tied, by the Hair and Hands, to the Tail of a fiery Horse, and dragged in this Manner through the Dung-fields, 'till she was dead. This Sentence being immediately put in Execution, the Queen, the Instant the Horse she was tied upon was spurred, had

^{*} Gregory the Great. + Pasquier, Recherches de la France, Livre X. Chap. XIX. Page 957.

her Brains beat out; and in that dismal Condition she was dragged through Hedges, Brambles, Briars, and over Rocks, till her Body was so torn, that what remained of it had scarce the Appearance of a Carcase. What a sad Fate, dear Brito, was this for a Queen of France! How dreadful an Example was it of the Justice of Heaven! and what a Lesson for all crowned Heads was the ignominious Punishment of this Princes!

Joan, Queen of Naples, came to as disastrous an End. Being besieged in the Fortress of Chateauneuf, by Charles Durazzo, the King of Hungary's Coufin, the furrendered herself, not doubting but he would shew her the Regard due to her Birth and to her exalted Rank. However, the was greatly mistaken; for this General, by Order of King Lewis, caufed her to be strangled and hanged in that Place, where she had caused King Andrew, one of her four Husbands, to be Arangled. A filken Halter was used at this cruel Exezution, she having commanded the like Instrument to be employed, in putting her Hushand to Death. Princess was justly punished for her dissolute and bloody Actions; and it ought to serve as a Memento to those Princes, who, intoxicated with their Grandeur and Power, fondly imagine that the Throne is able to fecure them from the Vengeance of Heaven.

There are but few in this Age, who pity the two Princesses, whose Missortunes I just now set before thee, or think that they met with too severe a Fate. As these were charged with perpetrating the blackest Crimes, the Ignominy of their Actions lessens very much the Detestation in which Mankind hold such as have struck at the Majesty of Princes in general, and failed in the most essential Duties. But what are we to think of those who put to Death, upon a Scassold, Princes and Princesses, whose Virtue, Rectitude, and Goodness, were known to all Europe?

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How aftonished is a wise Man, a Philosopher, at reading the Story of the Lady Jane Grey, losing her Head upon a Scaffold, though guilty of no other Crime than the Rebellion and Insurrection of her

proud Parents?

Charles I. was equally ill-fated, though not so innocent. This Prince, who, during some Years, was so much adored by the English, that they cut off the Nose and Ears of an insolent Divine, who had written disrespectfully of that Monarch, lost his Head upon a Scassold, in the Sight of those very People who, a little before, had worshipped him. He was led to the Scassold by a Man of very little Figure, who, raising himself insensibly to the highest Employments, presumed, at last, to take the august Title of Protector of the English Nation; a Title, in my Opinion, an hundred Times more august, more energetic, and pompous, than that of King

and Emperor.

What an Example, worthy Brito, is this of the Decrees of Providence! and how strong an Impresfion ought it to make upon the Minds of Kings? Instead of the Fables and Intrigues, which are generally the Subjects, in Painting, that adorn the Galleries of Princes, methinks they should make choice of the Misfortunes of Charles I. and order the ensuing Inscription to be written under this Series of Painting, as a Lesson to themselves and their Successors: Kings of the Earth, Learn by THIS DREADFUL EXAMPLE, THAT NEITHER YOUR RANK NOR POWER CAN SECURE YOU FROM THE MOST CRUEL REVERSES OF FOR-TUNE. HE WHO PUT THE SCEPTER INTO YOUR HANDS, MAY TAKE IT FROM YOU IN AN IN-STANT. WITHOUT HIS AID, WHAT ARE YOU ABLE TO ATCHIEVE? YOU ARE MERE WORMS, TO WHOM HE HAS GIVEN SOME POWER OVER WORMS H 2

148 The Jewish Spy. Let. 176.

Worms like themselves. Beseech, therefore, Him by whose Power you exist, to enable you always to follow the Dictates of Justice, in order that your Subjects may be preserved from a Spirit of Enthusiasm, Confusion, and Rebellion. In my Opinion, dear Brito, such an Infcription would be still more useful than that which is seen in all the Tribunals of Justice in France: Discite Justitiam moniti, et non tempere divos *.

At the same Time, dear Brito, that I disapprove the Cruelty exercised by Subjects over their Monarchs, I would not pretend to authorize the Injustice and Tyranny of Monarchs over their Subjects. God forbid I should ever run into such an Extream. I only wish that each Party would do the other Justice; and that the Virtues in Kings might not be confounded with the Vices. When I read the mighty Atchievements of Alexander, I bestow upon him the Praises which an illustrious Conqueror deferves: But, when I cast my Eye on the mu:dered Clitus, I feel my Bosom burn with the Indignation which the Sight of an Assassin inspires. I then do not see Alexander, but a frantic Wretch. The exalted Actions of Heroes and Heroines ought not to have fuch an Effect, as to make us confider their Vices and Crimes as fo many good Qualities.

Enjoy thy Health, good Brito; may thy Life be propitious and contented; and detesting those who foment Murders and Rebellions, entertain always the most respectful Awe for the God of Israel.

London, the

* Virgil, Æneid. Libr. VI.

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LETTER CLXXVII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conflantinople.

POR ever studious, Friend Isaac, to get as much Light as possible into the Manners and Way of thinking of the English, I examine very carefully their most minute Actions, and listen very attentively to all their Discourses, how inconsiderable soever they may appear. I have got acquainted with two Englishmen, who are just returned from their Travels through France and Italy; and as they differ widely in the Disposition and Cast of their Minds, I take a great Pleasure in comparing the different Relations they give of their Adventures, and fuch Particulars as affected them most strongly. The first is a discreet, wise Man; one who considers Persons of all Nations as his Brethren and Countrymen; pitying, but not despising, those whose Minds are clouded by Superstition; and imputing their Errors to the Force of Prejudice, and the Unhappiness of their Situation, rather than to a Weakness of Mind. The fecond, on the contrary, is a true Englishman, approving nothing but what he fees in London; hating all Foreigners in general; not fatisfying himself with the Applauses due to the great Men and the eminent Writers to which England has given Birth; but firmly believing, that, out of his native Country, there cannot be any able Generals or good Writers; as if Valour and Genius were to be met with only in England; and that God created the Men of other Nations with only three Senses. The H 3

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The other Day, I asked the Traveller, who was so strongly prejudiced in Favour of his native Country, what it was that prompted him to visit other Nations? "What was the Motive, fays I, of your " visiting France and Italy? Why did you take the Pains to travel at fo great a Distance, merely to " vifit Places and Things which could be of no " Service to you? If you was defirous of feeing no-46 thing but Houses, Forests, Mountains, and Ri-" vers, you might have found all these in England, " without running fo far." I went to Italy, replied he, to get a Sight of the Opera at Venice, and to fee the Jubilee in Rome. " How! replied I, you tra-" velled above five hundred Leagues, merely to hear a Female warble, and, to get a Sight of some " childish Ceremonies, which you would be the first " to ridicule; and did not condescend to inquire whether, in the many Cities you passed through, there was not some Philosopher, some Man of " Sense, who deserved a Visit from you, and whose " judicious Conversations might be of Advantage to " you? How many are there in Italy, where you " faw only Priests, in grotesque Habits, muttering before marble Altars; where you heard none but " Women and Half-men fing upon a Stage; how " many, I fay, able Mathematicians are there, how " many illustrious Geometricians and great Natuoralists; in a Word, excellent Philosophers, who could have entertained you with Conversations in-" finitely more delightful to the Mind, than the al-" luring but transient Sounds of Faustina and Cuz-" zoni's Voice? I should not wonder if a Man, who " was defirous of enlightening his Understanding, " that an Englishman who was passionately desirous of cultivating his own Genius, should set out " from London, for China, merely to fludy Confu-" cius's Philosophy. But for a Traveller to ram-66 ble

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" ble over, like a Madman, for two or three Years, " Part of Europe, merely to fee Portico's and Co-" lumns, and to hear Musicians; and to be intirely " unacquainted with the learned Men found in the " feveral Countries into which he travels; that, at his Return home, he should despise illustrious "Men whom he never faw; should judge of the " Learning and Knowledge of Algarotti by the War-6 bling of an Opera-finger; of the Merit of Mar-" quis Maffei by the Front of St. Mark's Palace; " of the profound Knowledge of some Roman An-"tiquaries, by the Bleffings of the Roman Pontiff, and the Avarice and Luxury of the Prelates who " furround him: This appears to me very extraordinary, especially in an Englishman, who pretends " to Reflection.

"Be so good, continued I, as to tell me what it " was that drew you into France? Were you in-" duced to vifit it from as trifling Motives, as those " which prompted you to go into Italy?" I went to fee France, replied the Englishman, because all Perjons of a certain Distinction travel thither. People must always be in the Fashion. By the Way, though I amused myself in Paris, I yet saw nothing in that City which made me entertain a very advantageous Idea of the Genius of the French. All those who were represented to me as Men of Wit, were a Parcel of shallow Fops, who sometimes threw out their Jokes, or rather Waggeries, heightened by certain lively Flashes. But we do not call this Wit in England; we requiring all sprightly Touches to be seasoned by Reason, and by wife Reflections. " Is this then, fays I, the Idea you " have formed to yourself of the French Nation? " And this you take from the Lights which those " you used to frequent in Paris have furnished you " with? But pray, continued I, do you know Fon-" tenelle, President de Montesquieu, or Voltaire? Was

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you ever in the Company of Cassini or Maupertuis? The last mentioned are thought to be Masters of fomething more than Wit?" No, replied the Englishman; I am an utter Stranger to the Persons you fpeak of. They surely never go to the Opera: Ine. ver once heard their Names mentioned in the Pit, much less in the Houses where I used to tipple. I never once heard them Spoke of at the Hotel de Gevres, at the Marchioness de ****, at the Countess de ****, nor in the public Walks. Where elfe then could I have get acquainted with them? " In any other Places, replied " I, but those you have named to me. You might " eafily have met with them in the Assemblies of " the Learned, in the Academies, at the Houses of " Persons of distinguished Knowledge, in those " Convents where Learning is cultivated, &c. What "Opinion would you entertain of me, if, at my " Return to Constantinople, I should form a Judg-" ment of the Merit of the English, from those Per-" fons I had spoke to in Coffee-houses; from some Writers of the lowest Class; and from some imof pertinent Politicians, who ground the Projects " they invent on the good Opinion they entertain " of themselves and their Countrymen? Would " you not take me to be either a Fool or a Madman, " if meeting me in the Atmeidan*, you should hear " me address a Turk in these Words? London, in " which I refided fix Months, is a City peopled with or proud Madmen, whose chief Frenzy is their supposing no Creatures deferve to be called Men but them-The Bufiness of People who are troubled with se selves. ce so whimsteal a Distemper, as that I mention, is to cabal against the Ministry. They are eternally talk-" ing about the ancient Government of Greece; and many a Man, who does not know what is doing at

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"his own House, is for ever disputing on the Laws of Solon and Lycurgus; and cites, at random, the Customs of Athens and Sparta. Another, though he does not know a Word of French, inveighs bitterly against all the Authors in that Language; and insolently calls Moliere a Fool, Racine a trifling Rhimer, and Bourdaloue a mere Dotard. Some, who perhaps imagine the Sun to be ten times as big as the fixed Stars, call Des Cartes a Dreamer: Nay, several among them will dispute whether it is possible for a Frenchman ever to make one judicious Reservices. Nevertheless, these vain and presumptuous Peo-

" I am certain, continued I, that if you heard me talk in this Manner, you could not forbear in-

" quiring upon what Grounds it is that I fet the " English Nation in so false and ridiculous a Light?

"Would you be fatisfied with my answering you in this Manner: I form my Judgment of the Eng-

" lish, from the Discourses I heard in Coffee-houses, "Taverns, and Places of public Resort? How, Sir,

" would you reply, were thefe the only Places in which

" you fought for Materials to compose your Travels? I will venture to observe, that all your Inquiries have

" been to no Purpose. You might as well have flaid at

" home. Were Locke and Sir Isaac Newton living when you was in England? Were you acquainted

" with them? Did you ever speak to so many illustrious

" Literati who live in London? Do you know Pope, Gordon, Tindal, &c. It is from Persons of this

"Gordon, Tindal, &c. It is from Persons of this " Cast, that we ought to judge of the Writers of a Na-

"tion, and not from a Parcel of Smatterers in Literature, with which all Countries are equally peftered."

However, all my Arguments, Friend Ijaac, could not make the least Impression upon this obstinate Englishman. His extravagant Prejudice in Favour of his native Country opposed such an insurmountable

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Barrier, as the most evident Reasons could not once remove; and all I could obtain from him was to allow Foreigners some Merit, but so very small, compared to that with which the English are abundantly stocked, that, in his Opinion, there is a wider Difference between a Frenchman, an Italian, a German, and an Englishman, than the Jansenists suppose to be between St. Austin and the Patriarch of the Jesuits.

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I have frequently hinted, to the judicious Traveller, his Countryman's Prejudice. Being a Person of great Wildom and Abilities, he is very forry to hear of his blind Prejudice, and speaks with the utmost Impartiality of the Virtues and Vices of those Nations with which he is acquainted. " Italy, fays he, is a " Country which presents, at first Sight, nothing but one perpetual Series of Luxury, Debauchery, and Superstition. One would imagine, that it would be impossible for a Philosopher to meet with " any Thing in it worthy of his Attention and Ef-" teem. Nevertheless, when he behaves with Prudence and Reserve, and endeavours to get acquainted with Men of Letters, he finds a vast " Number of Persons possessed of great Abilities, whose Names indeed are not fo well known as " those of many other Literati, because they are obliged to be filent, and to keep their Learning to " themselves. Was the Inquisition to be abolished "To-day, the Public would fee, on the Morrow, a er great Number of excellent Books, no Ways inse ferior to those of other Nations. I consider a " Man of Letters as an Orange-tree. Should fuch a "Tree be fet in a Box, it must necessarily be confined, and bear Fruit of a very middling Size; but, on the contrary, if it was planted at large in the " Earth, it would produce infinitely finer. " would have given Birth to ten such Historians as " Father Paul, had Authors been allowed to write, " in Rome, in Naples, and in Florence, with as much " Liberty as in Venice. A Traveller, who is defi-" rous of enlightening his Mind, ought to endeavour to find out fuch learned Men as are obliged to conceal Part of their Merit, and form a Judgment of what they might be, by what they are

" allowed to appear. With respect to the extravagant Dissoluteness. with which the Italians are charged, I own that every virtuous Mind cannot but be shocked at it. " A Traveller is always surprised to see a Number of lewd Houses protected by the Government, in " a City that assumes the Name of Holy; a Cir-" cumftance which does not give one a very favourable Idea of the Modesty and Virtue of the Per-" fons who preside in such a Government. The " People, fays a wife Heathen, behave always with " Modesty in those Commonwealths, where the chief " Persons in it dread Infamy *. In Rome, any Per-" fon, who should say that the Pope's Slipper is not " facred, would be put to Death; and at the fame " Time, the Magistrates there permit a Woman to-" turn common Proffitute, provided she pays a Tri-" bute; and for this the is protected by the Sove-" reign, and permitted to riot in Debaucheries of " every Kind."

The prudent and impartial Manner, in which this Englishman spoke of the Italians, made me extremely desirous, Friend Isaac, of knowing what. Opinion he entertained of the French.

* Μάλιςα σωφρονεί ο δημος, οπου τον λίγον μαλλοι οί πο-

λιτευόμενοι δεδοίκασιν ή τον νόμον.

Ibi demum Populus modeste se gerit, ubi qui Rempublicam gubernant Infamiam potius, quam Leges, verentur. Septem Sapientum, & corum qui iis connumerantur, Apophtheg. & Præcepta, Page 8.

The JEWISH SPY. Let. 177. 156 " posses, replied he, great Qualities; but then they, at the same Time, have great Imperfections. In England they are generally charged with being a mere superficial People, and to have more Wit " than Learning. There is some Truth in this Reproach. It is certain that, among the vast " Number of Authors, with which France abounds, the greatest Part of them write nothing but tri-" fling Pieces, fuch as Tales, Romances. and Love Poems; and that the Name of learned Man is e given, in Paris, to a Person whose only Compo-" fitions are Plays. Nevertheless, there are among them some Genius's of the first Rank, who ought on in any Manner to be confounded with those " I am speaking of. The Academy of Sciences, " which is infinitely superior to the rest of the lite-" rary Academies of the Kingdom, is formed ge-" nerally of Persons whose Works prove evidently that there are in France, as well as in England, " Men of the greatest Sagacity and Penetration. 44 It is true, indeed, that in certain Works the Eng-" lift Genius feems to attain certain Heights which "that of the French does not expect to arrive at. The former will foar to the Skies, break the " Chain of Prejudices, and discover Truth, spite " of the Clamours of Superstition, and the Stra-" tagems of Falshood. The French would doubt-16 less enjoy the same Advantage, had they the like " Opportunity of displaying the Efforts of their "Genius; but, unhappily for them, they are obliged to restrain it. They are not wanting in a Capacity for Reflection, but only in the Liberty of indulging themselves in that Particular. " It is owing to this Restraint that most of them 44 amuse themselves with Trisles; and the worst " Circumstance in this Affair is, that they at last come to confider them as ferious, necessary and

" impor-

important. To this Circumstance is owing the Reputation they have got among Foreigners, of being a shallow and superficial People: This also subjects them in the most arbitrary Manner, to every new Mode; makes them consider those Trisles as Matters of great Consequence; causes them to be accused of being remarkably inconstant and wavering; and fills them with such a good Opinion of themselves, as must necessarily make those who delight in so vain a Resection appear very ridiculous."

I know not, worthy Isaac, in what Light thou wilt consider the Sentiments of this Englishman; but they appeared to me as judicious, as those of his

Countryman feemed shallow.

Enjoy thy Health, Friend Isaac; live contented and happy; and carefully root out of thy Mind the most inconsiderable Seeds of Prejudice.

London, the

LETTER CLXXVIII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

THE English Bishops, dear Isaac, are not obliged, like those of France and Italy, to lead a Life of Celibacy. Ever fince they separated from the Romish Communion, they have the same Privilege to marry as the Laity; and, at the same Time that they preserved all the Prerogatives of their Character, they have softened all the Rigours and Austerities which accompanied it. This artful and political Conduct, of not making any Change in the ancient Hierarchy of the Church, has been of

very great Prejudice to the Court of Rome.

It is certain that if, when the Reformation was begun in England, the Government had proposed to the Bishops their descending to the Degree of simple Pastors, and establishing the Canons of the Genevan Church, not a Man of them but would have inveighed against an Innovation which would have been so disadvantageous. They all would have opposed the new Doctrines that were to be introduced; would have stirred up the People, over whose Minds they, by their Character, have a mighty Ascendant to take up Arms; and, if it would not have been possible for them to put an intire Stop to the Establishment of the new Doctrines, they at least would have checked the Progress of them considerably.

Those Princes who shook off the Pope's Yoke, took the most effectual Methods possible to win

And you may court a pretty Fair;
Gay, buxom, fmart, beyond Compare;
A Girl of a vivacious Thought,
With Bubbies fweetly-circling wrought;
Of Humour kind;
A gentle Mind;
In Words discreet,
For Maidens meet;
A Maid of pleasing Step and Voice;
Whose Mind and Form command our Choice*.

Had the like Proposals been made to the French Prelates, I am firmly persuaded there is not one of them, but would chearfully have accepted such an Offer. Well, would these have said, fince the Number of the Elect must be accomplished, Bishops

[·] Oeuvres de Marot, Chanson XXV,

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are as fit to exert their Endeavours in this Particular as Persons in a private Condition. But would any Perfons in their Senses imagine, that all the superior Clergy would not have been difgusted, when an Attempt should be made to reduce them to the Condition of Priestlings, or petty Parish-Priests? a Circumstance which Beza found but too sensibly in the Conference held at Poiffi. Being asked by fome Prelates, who were uncertain with regard to their Temporalities, how these were to be ordered, in case they should declare openly for his Doctrine, and he making the ingenuous Answer following, that they must facrifice them all at the Foot of Christ's Cross, these worldly-minded Prelates immediately turned their Backs upon him: And thus by his failing to be as politic as the English Reformers, he lost the finest Opportunity possible of introducing a thorough Reformation in the Gallican Church.

I do not doubt but that, at the Beginning of the Reformation, a great many Prelates were inclined in their Hearts to favour the Protestant Religion, on account of the Pleasures that attend on the Marriage State, and the Satisfaction of having Wives and Children: And had it not been made a Condition, that they should descend to be mere Pastors, in taking a Wife, the French Bishops might have been as eafily prevailed upon to change their Opinions as the English. I will suppose, for Exam. ple-fake, that Cardinal de Lorrain had been desirous of marrying; the Fear he would have been under, of losing his surprisingly-rich Temporalities, must necessarily have diverted him from it; and to fatisfy, at one and the fame Time, his Ambition and amorous Disposition, he would have been prompted much more strongly to make Use of his Neighbour's Wife, than to take one to himself, who e-

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who would only have impoverished him. His Conduct on this Occasion is well known; we being told by himself, that he was extremely fond of the amorous Congress, and had enjoyed the most beautiful Women of the Court. And he scrupled fo little to conceal his Inclination in this Particular, that he ventured one Day to make his Boasts of it to the Duchess of Savoy, on one of those Occasions, when the Vivacity of the Impulses are such, as not to leave the least Doubt of their being genuine. It is Brantome, who informs us, with his usual Mirth, of this Particular. " Cardinal de Lorrain, says he, " going through Piedmont about some Affairs, by "Order of his Sovereign, visited the Duke and "Duchefs. After discoursing some Time with " the Duke, he went to the Duches's Apartment, " in order to make his Compliments to her; when " going up to that Lady, who was the proudest "Woman in the World, she gave him her Hand " to kifs. The Cardinal, exasperated at this Af-" front, advanced in order to kifs her Lips, when " she withdrew in Proportion. At last the Cardi-" nal, lofing all Patience, and drawing still nearer, " gave her two or three Kiffes, notwithstanding " her Outcries both in Portuguese and Spanish. " How, fays he, are you to put on these Airs to me! " I am allowed to kifs my Mistress, who is the greatest " Princess in the World; and shall not I be allowed " to kifs fuch a little, dirty Duchefs as you! I would " have you to know, that I have LAID WITH Ladies " full as handsome, and of as illustrious a Family as " yourfelf *."

After this, worthy Isaac, it would be very difficult for the most zealous Nazarenes to prove, that Cardinal de Lorrain would not have taken a Wife,

^{*} Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tome ii. p. 364.

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if he could have done this without hurting his Circumstances. They must confess that this Prelate, whom they confider as one of the chief Pillars of their Religion, confidered Adultery as a very light Crime, if any at all; and consequently imagined it was not incumbent upon him to feek for Remedies against this Vice; or they must acknowledge, that, could he have found out some Expedient, without totally ruining his Fortune, he doubtless would have made a proper Use of it; for his Complexion was fo extremely amorous, that he would have been forced either to marry or turn Fornicator. It is well known that he was possessed with a fort of Love-frenzy; and one would have been apt to imagine, that Venus had fired his Veins with that Poison which proved so fatal to Minos's Daughters. " I have been told, continues the Author above cited, " that, when any handsome Maiden or married La-" dy came to the Court, he used to accost her im-" mediately *, and, entering into Discourse with " her, fay, that he would tutor her; what a Tutor was this! I believe he did not find it as dif-" ficult a Task on this Occasion as to tame a wild " Colt! And indeed People used to say to him, " that there were very few young Ladies who " lived at Court, or were newly come to it, but " were either drawn away or deluded by the Boun-" ty of the faid Cardinal; and few or no Women, " at their leaving that Court, had any Virtue left. " And indeed, at this Time, their Wardrobes were 66 better stocked with Gowns and Petticoats of "Gold, Silver, and Silk, than those of our Prin-" cesses and Queens are in the present Age. I my-" felf have had a Proof of this, having feen two or three Wardrobes filled in this Manner, and at the same Time was certain, that neither their * Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tome ii. p. 362.

" Fathers, Mothers, nor Husbands could have af-

" Things."

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It is surprising, good Isaac, that a Man of the Character of Cardinal de Lorrain, who might have judged, from what he himself felt, how necessary it would be for the Clergy to marry; and who was one of the most shining Prelates in the Assembly held by the Nazarene Pontists in Trent, in order for debating on the Doctrines of Luther and Calvin; did not vote in the strongest Terms, for checking the Dissoluteness of Priests, by permitting them to marry. How could a Prelate, whom the Court of France could scarce supply with Concubines enough, imagine that a Parish-Priest, who lived upon his Cure in the Country, could have so much Virtue as not to lie with his Maid?

Doubtless a great many of the Prelates in the Council of Trent knew from their own Conduct, how highly necessary it was to permit the Clergy to marry. Nevertheless, through a false Delicacy, and an Obstinacy that was altogether unpardonable, they strengthened still more a Custom which has since given occasion to the perpetrating numberless Crimes, and made the Nazarene Priests contemptible in the

Eyes of the whole Universe.

The Fautors of the new Opinions were furnished with a fine Handle for inveighing against those Canons which forbid the Clergy to marry. Cardinal del Monte, afterwards Pope Julius III. and who presided as Legate in the Council of Trent, had still more Reason to marry than Cardinal de Lorrain. For though he maintained, that Priests and Bishops ought to be forbid Marriage upon the severest Penalties; not contented with diverting himself now and then with the Ladies, he made Use of the Privilege which the ancient Heathens allow-

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ed to their Deities; and had a young Ganymede, who, though infinitely less beautiful than that of Jupiter, was yet exceedingly beloved by Cardinal del Monte. He took this Ganymede with him to the Council; it being impossible for him to live from him. However, he once was forced to bear his Absence, he being obliged to send him, at a great Distance, for the Recovery of his Health. When his Minion returned, the Cardinal went to meet him, accompanied by most of the Members of the Council, and though they faw the amorous Transports, and lascivious Embraces of their President, yet this was not fufficient to prove to them how absolutely useful and necessary it was, that the Clergy should marry. These shocking Particulars are told us by a celebrated Nazarene Historian. When Julius, fays he *, was but Archbishop of Siponto, and Governor of the City of Boulogne, he took into his House a young Boy, born in Piacenza, whose Birth nobody knew any Thing of. The Master grew prodigiously fond of the Boy, and carried him to Trent, where he had like to have lost him by a violent Fit of Illness. However, sending him, by the Advice of Physicians to Verona, for the Change of Air, Innocent (for such was the Minion's Name) recovered his Health there, and returned to Trent some Time after. The Day he was to arrive thither, the Cardinal came out of the City as though to take an Airing, accompanied by a great Number of Prelates, &c. and coming up to him, received him with inexpresible Tenderness; which occasioned much Speculation, whether this was only an accidental Meeting, or done on Purpose +.

Reflect,

* Father Paul, Book iii. ad Ann. 1550.

[†] This is one of those Strokes which makes Bigots exclaim against the Jewish Spy; but I would only ask them

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Reflect, worthy Isaac, I beseech thee, on the odd Conduct of Mankind. Persons who attended upon their Chief, in order to go and meet an infamous Catamite, obstinately persist in resusing to permit a Set of honest People to marry. Could they have desired a stronger Example, to demonstrate to them the Evil which arises from the Celibacy of Priests, than the Adventure to which they were Eye-witnesses?

Cardinal del Monte had yet vastly great Obligations to another Pope (Julius II.) who had a still greater Itch this Way. In his Time, it was dangerous for young Noblemen to go to Rome, they not returning from it with the same Virtues they carried thither. According to several Historians, this Pope violated, in the strongest Manner, the Laws of Hospitality. We read, say certain Authors, in a Piece writ by some Divines of Paris, that two young Gentlemen were forced by him; they having been recommended by Queen Anne, Wife of Lewis XII. to the Care of the Cardinal of Nantz, in order that he might conduct them to Italy *. If this Reproach be

them whether I have forged this Story? Father Paul is my Voucher. May not I be allowed to transcribe his Words, and what all Historians, whether Protestants or Catholicks, who have not been fold to the Court of

Rome, have transmitted to Posterity?

* Legitur in Commentario Magistrorum Parisiensium de Julio Secundo Papa, quod duobus nobilissimi Generis Adole-scentibus, quos Anna Galliarum Regina Nanetensi Cardinali informandos commiserat, & aliis multis, Diabolica Rabie (prob. Facinus!) Stuprum intulerit, Wolsius, Lection. Memorabil. Tom. ii. Pag. 21. Du Plessis. Mistere d'Iniquité, Page 58. Here is an Incident the Truth of which I would not pretend to vouch. Aaron Monceca thought after the same Manner. He contented himself with quoting the two Authors who mention it, and without determining the Matter.

just, the young Persons had better have travelled to Tartary than to Rome. Among the former, they would have been in Danger only of losing their Eyes; but among the latter they lost their Honour.

Persons do not run any such hazard, dear Isaac, in London. The English Bishops have so much to do in their own Families, that they have no Time to amuse themselves with their Neighbours. Superintending of a Church, and the Contenting of a Wife, employ so much Time as leaves none for indulging the loofer Paffions. However, I would not swear but some of the Archbishops of Canterbury may have had Bastards; but no such Thing was yet ever heard of; and, as the Clergy have so eafy an Opportunity of getting Children in a lawful Way, they have no Inclination to raise up an illegitimate Posterity. This seems to have been always pretty much their Taste; for, at the Time that the Nazarene Prelates confented to live a Life of Celibacy, several of those in England refused to fubmit to that Law. One Geraldus who lived in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries, affirms that the Prelates used to marry at that Time in Wales *.

An Author of still greater Eminence relates the same concerning the Clergy of Britany †. One Particular the Nazarenes cannot doubt of, and which is attested by one of their greatest Divines, is that, in Ireland, eight Bishops, Successors to one another, were all married at the Time that they

exercised their pontifical Functions 1.

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* See the Treatise de Illaudabilibus Wallia, inserted in Anglia Sacra. Tom. ii. Page 450.

1 Jam octo extiterunt ante Celsum Viri uxorati, & abs-

⁺ Hildebert, Bishop of Mans, an Author of the XIIth Century, quoted by Geraldus Cambrensis, Epist. LXV. Page 151. Tom. xxi. of the Biblioth. Patrum.

It was not therefore until they were absolutely forced to it, that the English and Irish Prelates would consent to hive unmarried; and therefore, the Instant they had an Opportunity of getting Wives, they no longer had Recourse to those of their Neighbours. When Henry VIII. quarrelled with the Court of Rome, by shaking off the Yoke of the Italians, he attempted to reform the Abuses which he supposed had prevailed in his Kingdom; and, getting himself to be proclaimed Head of the Church, he revived the ancient Custom.

Had this Prince acted always as judiciously, he would have merited the highest Elogiums. It shews the highest Wisdom and Judgment to abolish all fuch pernicious Laws as have no other Authority but the most absurd Prejudices. Since Marriage is fo frequently recommended in Scripture; fince Man is naturally prone to Vice, and that he finds a Remedy for it, in taking a careful Wife; how comes it to pass that the Nazarenes, who believe in the same Scriptures as we do, should have established a Custom that is productive of so many Crimes? Their Priests used to marry till the XIIth Century: Wherefore then should a Custom that is founded on good Sense be laid aside? Or, when that Custom was abolished, why did not those, who presided in Governments, when they were fensible of the Advantages accruing from that Custom, revive it, and even they had been guilty of a Fault, instead of burning those who insist upon the Necesfity there is that the Clergy should marry, as though they advanced some Doctrine in Opposition to the Existence of the Deity? The Folly of the Nazarenes, dear Isaac, is our Glory; let us leave them therefore in their Blindness.

May thy Health increase, dear Isaac, live contented and happy.

London, the

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LETTER CLXXIX.

Isaac Onis, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople, to Aaron Monceca.

HY last Letters, excellent Monceca, gave me great Pleasure. I am as persuaded as thou canst be, how necessary it is to permit Priests of all Religions to marry. This is the only Expedient can be found to check the Course of the enormous Vices that creep into Societies of Men, who, attempting to raife themselves above their Nature, after they have opposed the Passions for some Time, immerse themselves at last in the most dissolute Excesses, and proceed to greater Lengths in their Debaucheries, as they are not possessed of any Antidote against them. The Example of the Nazarene Monks, and the Stories which are daily told of their fcandalous Actions, are evident and indifputable Proofs, how absolutely necessary it is not to burthen Mankind with fuch Laws as are intirely repugnant to Reason, and directly opposite to Nature.

I greatly applaud the English Prelates for shaking off a Yoke, of so severe and pernicious a Nature as that of Celibacy; but I fancy, that the Desire of having a lawful Wise was the Reason, which prompted the English Prelates to separate from the Pope of Rome. The Ascendant which the latter had gained over the former, and the haughty Man-

ner in which they treated them, prepared the Clergy in Question, who were grown weary of so heavy a Chain, to break from it; and, the Instant the Englifb found a favourable Opportunity for this, they embraced it with Pleasure.

I know not, dear Aaron, whether ever you reflected attentively on the amasing Power, which the Popes of Rome had raised themselves to, in the past Ages, not only over the Clergy, but likewise over Kings and Emperors. It was so great, and carried to so exalted an Elevation, that it was impossible for it not to totter by its aftonishing Height, and at last

fink under its own Weight.

I compare the Power of the Sovereign Pontiffs to that of the ancient Romans, and find an exact Refemblance in them. The Popes were at first only Pastors, and equal in Dignity to the Heads of the The Romans, under other Nazarene Churches. their Kings, were neither richer nor more powerful than the rest of the Nations of Italy. During the Time of the Commonwealth they subjected, by insensible Degrees, not only their Neighbours, but half the Globe. At last, this Grandeur became eclipfed, infenfibly, under the Emperors, and was always diminishing.

The fame happened to the Roman Pontiffs. When the Emperors had intirely abandoned the City of Rome, the former began, by the Absence of the Sovereigns, to acquire a confiderable Credit in Italy, which however increased but flowly; for, during a long Course of Years, the Popes were always elected, or their Elections were always confirmed by the Emperors of Constantinople. when the Alani, the Burgundians, the French, the Piets, and Saxons, the Vandals, and the Vifigoths, possessed themselves either of Gaul, or Great Britain or Spain; the Grecian Monarchs, looking upon VOL. V.

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the Western Provinces as given up to Plunder, applied their whole Endeavours to the Preserving of the East; and though they still preserved a considerable Part of Italy, the Popes, by Means of these various Revolutions, had gained a considerable Share of Authority in those Countries. It nevertheless was balanced by that of several petty Tyrants, who, under a specious Show of Obedience to the Emperors of Constantinople, enjoyed, in Essect, all the

Privileges of Sovereignty.

The Lombards having intirely destroyed what remained of the Power of the Grecian Monarchs, the Popes were then elected only by the People. Some Time before the Exarchate of Ravenna expired, Constantine III, seeing he enjoyed no more than a vain Shadow of Authority in Rome, permitted the Inhabitants of that City to make Choice of a Pontiff without waiting for his Consent; and it is this Period, dear Monceca, that we ought to confider as the first Æra of the Papal Grandeur. They learnt, by insensible Degrees, to take Advantage of the Commotions which broke out. They even were as fortunate as the Confuls of the Roman Commonwealth; they dethroning Kings, beflowing Empires, often changing the whole Face of Europe; and after having carried the Terror of their Arms as far as Alexander the Great, they would be adored after the same Manner. The greatest Monarchs proftrated themselves before them. But this Humility not appearing abject enough to some of those haughty Prelates, they added Contempt to Haughtiness, and behaved with greater Pride towards the Nazarene Princes, than the generous Romans towards such Captives as adorned their Triumphs.

One of the Popes infolently fet his Foot on the Head of an Emperor, whilst he was kissing his

Slipper;

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Slipper; and kicked off his Crown, to shew that it was in his Power to take it from him whenever he pleased. Another Pope shewed but too evidently by the Calamities he brought upon one of the Emperors, that the Roman Pontists were able to dethrone the most powerful Monarchs. The Pope in Question (Gregory VII.) having had some Contests about the Electing of Bishops, with this Emperor, Henry IV. he excommunicated him, divested him of the Imperial Dignity, freed all his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance; and offered all his Dominions to any Persons who should think sit to take Possession of them *.

Were such Anathemas to be published in this Age, they would not be regarded in any Manner. They would only shew still more evidently the Ambition of the Court of Rome; and the Magistrates would immediately invalidate Decrees which should presume thus to attack their Sovereign. The Vail which before covered the Eyes of the common People, is

* The Famous Bacon observed very justly, that Heresy was not commonly the Motive which prompted the Popes to excommunicate Kings, but that it was owing to temporal Interests. However, the Roman Pontists endeavoured to cover their ambitious Pretences with the specious Mask of Religion. But why are not all Kings made subservient to the Advantage of the Church, when he whose Office it is to protect them, may stretch them as much as he pleases? Evolvantur Historia & videatur, quæ fuerint Caufa Principum excominunicatorum; & quidem istius Tumoris, quo Reges fuerunt exoutherati seu depositi. Non solum id factum eft propter Hæresin & Schifma, verum etiam propter Vocationem & Investituram Episcoporum aliarumque Personarum Ecclesiasticarum. . . . Nam, quid est quæ aliqua Ratione ad Spirituale referri nequeat? Prasertim quando qui fert Sententiam, Cosum pro Arbitrio formare permittitur. Baconi Orationes in Parliamento, Camera Stellata, Banco Regio, & Cancellaria, habitæ, Page 1544, Col. z. Edit. Liff.

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partly taken off; and most of the Nazarenes have now got the better of that mistaken Awe with which they before beheld Excommunications. They then were so powerful, that the ill-sated Henry sell a Victim to them; and the Hatred of the Clergy

brought him to his Grave.

No one can read the Misfortunes of that Prince, even in the Romish Historians, without feeling the strongest Motions of Anger and Indignation, to see the extravagant Height to which Superstition and Meanness have been carried among Mankind, and how amatingly they degraded the Majesty of their Sovereigns. The Answers of this Bull, says a Romish Writer *, had so much Efficacy, that a Son, and not a Stranger, Seized upon his Father's Dominions. A fad Spectacle indeed; by which, however, you may judge how mighty the Papal Power was in This, one would have imagined, could that Age. not but satisfy Gregory: Nevertheless, being still unsatisfied, he caused this Emperor to be divested of his Imperial Ornaments by the Bishops of Mentz, Cologn, and Wormes. Having afterwards confined him close Prisoner, he died; when the People of Liege were excommunicated by the Pope, for having buried him in consecrated Ground; but afterwards, in order to free themselves from it, they dug up his Body, after which, it was carried to Spire, and deposited in a Stone Coffin out of the Church, as having died excommunicated.

If this Incident, good Monceca, was not attested by Writers of all Religions, would it have been possible for Posterity to believe it? Could one ever suppose, that an Emperor, who reigned half a Century, who sought a great Number of Battles,

^{*} Pasquier, Recherches de la France, Livr. III. Chap. XIV. Page 209.

triumphed over the greatest Part of his Enemies, and acquired immortal Glory, should have been treated so ignominiously by his Subjects, at the Instigation of a Priest, whose implacable Hatred could not be extinguished even by the Death of his

Adversary.

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In reading, dear Monceca, the History of the Roman Pontiffs, it is not their Pride, their Ambition, in a Word, the whole Series of their criminal Conduct that aftonishes me. As Favour, Faction, and Money, have always contributed more to their Choice than Probity and Merit, it is natural that there should have been fewer good Popes than bad ones. But I am all Amazement, when I behold many whole Nations not making the least Use of their Reason, but blindly following such Impressions as are most repugnant to the Light of Nature, That a Pope should be so ambitious as to attempt to dethrone a Monarch; he, in that Case, is a Man who makes an ill Use of his Authority, in order to screen his Crimes, which is a Circumstance that very often happens. But that whole Nations should consent to infringe all their Duties; to give up their Virtues, their Honour and Religion; and that too unprompted by any particular Motive of Self-Interest: This is what I can never reflect upon, without shuddering, to see the Evils which are caused by Superstition.

Whilst the Power of the Romish Pontists was risen to this extravagant Height, England, dear Monceca, was one of the Nations over which they had the greatest Authority. They kept it in a kind of Captivity; and this unfortunate Country paid immense Sums to the Court of Rome. The Revival of Literature made the infatuated World open their Eyes by insensible Degrees. They at last discovered the Follies which their Ancestors had been guilty

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of; and found that the Yoke which had been laid upon them was extremely fevere. They did not, at first, dare to throw it off boldly; the Dregs of Superstition which still remained in them, the Power of deep-rooted Prejudices, and the Want of favourable Opportunities, keeping them from Acting. But a happy Chain of Circumstances afterwards prefenting itself, the whole Face of Europe was changed on a sudden; the Parties interested, who waited only for a propitious Opportunity, did not fail to feize that which offered itself. A Monk * presented them with it; in fifteen or twenty Years, he struck Popery so dreadful a Blow, as shook the very Foundations of it, and dispossessed it of a great Part of the Dominions over which its Power before extended. Sweden, Denmark, Pruffia, Saxony, and a confiderable Part of Germany, at last embraced his Doctrines, and broke to Pieces the Idol they had fo long adored.

On the other Hand, John Calvin, an able French Ecclesiastic, less enterprising than Luther, but as capable of executing any great Designs, completed what the other had only begun; and introduced a Reformation of Doctrine and Manners, not only in France, but even in Switzerland, the Low-Countries, Scotland, and several other Places. England, amidst all these Revolutions, was not unactive. Love and Indignation gave the finishing Stroke to what the Books of Luther and Calvin had only begun. Henry VIII, struck with the Charms of Anne Bullen, and not being able to prevail with the Court of Rome to dissolve his Marriage, quarrelled openly with the Roman Pontiss, and in this Manner, de-

droyed Popery in England.

The new Opinions, which so many Nations had

^{*} Martin Luther, an Austin Friar, of Wirtenberg.
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embraced, occasioned very warm Disputes among the Learned; and Literature gained prodigious Advantages by these Contests. Every Individual was defirous of enlightening his Mind; all forts of People devoted themselves to Study; and it was then that the Genius and Jargon of the Schoolmen disappeared. The Papists were reduced to the Necessity either of opposing good Books to those of their Adversaries, or of seeing them triumph in every Respect. To do this, Divines were obliged to write intelligibly; and they found themselves indispensably forced to abandon their old Mafter. This completed the Inlightning of Mens Minds, fince every one, by that Means, was able to form a clear Judgment of what he perceived, till then, no otherwise than by the Eyes of Monks and Priests; and this additional Splendor was a farther Difadvantage to the Authority of the Popes. They were upon the Brink of lofing all France; and it cost them no little Struggles, during a long Course of Years, to preserve their former Authority in it; though, of all the Kingdoms which recognize it, there is no one in which their Power is so imperfectly established, as in France.

The French dreaded greatly the Politics and Artifices of the Court of Rome. In all Ages, and even in those in which all Europe trembled under the pontifical Yoke, the French have always adhered to their Kings, and not permitted any Incroachment to be made upon their Privileges. It is true indeed, ever fince the Jesuits have been settled among them, these have corrupted great Numbers, several of whom were Clergy, who forgot that they were Frenchmen; and are ready, at all Times, to sell their native Country to the Popes. But the Parliaments, the Ministers of State, the Nobility, and even the People, have not changed their Opinions:

So that, were the Court of Rome to inful upon any Point which might displease the French King, all his Menaces and Fulminations would not be heeded. They never were much regarded in France. even the French have sometimes punished, with great Severity, all the Faults which the Popes committed with regard to their Country. Lewis XIV. how little soever he might favour such Opinions as clash with Popery, raised, even in the midst of Rome itself, a Monument which must reslect eternal Dishonour on the Romans. However, after letting it stand some Years, he, through an Excess of Clemency, permitted it to be thrown down. It is no Wonder that this Monarch should have acted with so much Vigour, at a Time when the Papal Authority, with regard to temporal Matters, was confidered as an absurd Chimera. But the Contest which King Philip the Fair had with Boniface VIII. at a Time when the Pope made fo many Sovereigns tremble, shews evidently, that the Roman Pontiffs have had, in all Ages, but little Authority over the French Monarchs. This Prince, who was engaged in a Contest with the Pope with regard to the Nomination to certain Benefices, received the following Letter from him:

Boniface, Bishop, Servant to the Servants of God, to Philip King of France. Fear God, and keep his Commandments. We will have thee to know that, in Things Spiritual and Temporal, thou art subject to us. Thou hast nothing to do with the Collation to Benefices: And, if thou hast presented to any, we revoke the Donation, and declare it void; and, to conclude, declare, that all who think otherwise are Fools

and Madmen. Given, &c *.

To

^{*} BONIFACIUS, Episcopus, Servus Seruorum Dei, Philippo Francorum Regi. Deum time, & Mandata ejus observa.

To this gentle Letter Philip the Fair returned

the following Answer:

PHILIP, by the Grace of God, King of France, to Boniface, who assumes the Name of Sovereign Pontiff, wisheth no Health. Know, most supreme Simpleton, that we acknowledge no Person with regard to Temporalities. We collate to such Prebends and Benefices as we have a Right to do; and will take care that those whom we present to them shall receive their due Stipends; firmly perfuaded that none but Fools and Madmen can dispute this Power with them *.

It is certain that a Prince who wrote in this Manner, no ways dreaded the Fate of the Emperor

Henry IV.

May thy Health increase, good Monceca, live contented and happy.

Grand Cairo, the

observa. Scire te volumus, quod in Spiritualibus, & Temporalibus, nobis subes. Beneficiorum & Prabendarum ad te Collatio nulla spectat : & si aliquorum vacantium Custodiam babeas, Usumfructum earum Succefforibus reserves; & fi quæ contulisti, Collationem haberi irritam decrevimus, G quatenus processeris revocamus. Aliud credentes Fatuos Datum Laterani, quarto Nonas Decembris, reputamus. Pontificatus nostri Anno sexto.

· PHILIPPUS, Dei Gratia Francorum Rex, Bonifacio se gerenti pro Summo Pontifice, Salutem modicam, sove nullem. Sciat tua maxima Fatuitas, in Temporalibus nos alicui non subesse: aliquarum Ecclesiarum, & Prebendarum, vacantem Collationem ad Nos Jure Regio pertinere, & per-sipere Fructus earum contra omnes Possessores utiliter nos tueri. Secus autem credentes Fatuos reputamus atque De-

mentes. Datum, &c.

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LETTER CLXXX.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

Have not yet mentioned any Thing to thee, Friend Isaac, concerning the Parliament of England. It is to this august Assembly that the Nation owes its Happiness and Liberty. Had it not been for the Parliament, the Kings would have been despotic long fince; for as there would have been nothing to check their Wills, they doubtless would have usurped an When I confider the different absolute Authority. Forms of Government established in Europe, none of them appears to me so perfect as that of England. And indeed, it unites to ether all the Qualities requifite for making a People happy, and the Sovereign

powerful, fo long as he is just.

All Legislators, who have endeavoured to lay the Foundation of a well-regulated Government, and to fettle it upon fuch Laws as might fecure the Liberties of the People, found that it was necessary the Authority of the Sovereign should be modified and restrained by the Remonstrances, and even by the Credit of the principal Men in the Nation, who served as a Mediator between the Prince and the People; might preserve the Prerogatives of the one, and protect the Liberty of the other. So long as the King does not endeavour to make any Encroachment on the Privileges of the Nation, he is absolute; but, the Instant he attempts to destroy them, the Parliament never fails to oppose his Designs.

One would imagine, at first Sight, that a King is not to absolute in London, as in Madrid or Paris:

ris: But we find, upon a closer Examination, that whenever he is just, he is as absolute as the Grand Seignior. What is the Duty of a King? To cause the Laws to be put in Execution, to reward the virtuous, to punish the wicked, and to endeavour to make both himself and his People happy. No Monarch in the World is invested with more Power, for executing all the Things above-mentioned, than

the Kings of England.

As Princes, in this Country, are absolute here, only in Proportion as they are just and virtuous, their Authority depends on the Blessings they shower down on their Subjects. Is it possible for any Thing to be more prudent and judicious than this? The Power of the English Monarch seems to resemble that of the Deity. As Kings are the Representatives of God upon Earth, it was thought that the former ought never to be the Authors of Evil. In order to strengthen them, in the best Manner possible, against the Frailty of Nature, a Parliament was instituted, in order for it to represent to them in the strongest, and at the same Time most respectful Manner, the Errors they may fall into.

The wisest Legislators have been sensible, that it was of the highest Consequence not to deify the Caprices of Monarchs: They knowing, that it would be unjust to make the Felicity of Millions of People depend on the Whim of one single Person. "A-" mong the several new Establishments, which

- "were very various (fays Plutarch) of Lycurgus, the greatest and most considerable was that of the Senate, which, as Plate observes, being blended
- with the too absolute Power of Kings, and
- " having an equal Authority with them, was the chief Cause of the Moderation and Sasety of the
- "State, which was always fluctuating; and fome-
- times inclined to the Tyranny of Kings, and

at others, towards the Democracy of Subjects. For this Senate was a Medium, a Sort of Balance

to maintain an Equilibrium, and fix it upon a folid Foundation; the twenty-eight Senators.

who composed that Assembly, siding with the Kings, when the People aimed at too much

Power; and strengthening, on the other Hand, the Party of the People, when the King endea-

voured to govern with arbitrary Sway *."

Lucurgus was not the only Legislator who was fensible how absolutely necessary it was to preserve an Equilibrium. Solon imagined, that a City could not be happy, except Magistrates were as subject to the Laws, as private Persons to Magistrates +. In his Opinion, the Usages established ought to be such as keep an Equilibrium between the People and the Prince. This Sage did not perceive, that Men act often in a very different Manner from what they ought to do; and that it is absolutely necessary there should be a superior Power, which may force them not to swerve from those Laws that form the Bond between the Sovereign and the Subject. In this Manner they each secure their mutual Felicity. When the People are certain that their Liberties will never be destroyed, the Monarch is sure to enjoy undisturbed Tranquillity, except he forgets the Obligations by which he bound himfelf. He then has no one to complain of but himfelf, for any Calamities that may befal him, fince they were all owing to his Restlessness and his turbulent Spirit.

· Plutar b's Lives, Vol. I.

† Έρωληθεῖς τοῦς ἀν ἀρισλα αὶ τοόλεις οἰκοίνλο; εἶπεν, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν πολίται τοῦς ἄρχουσι τοῦθώνυαν, οἱ δὲ ἄρχούλες τοῖς νομοις. Interrogatus quam demum Rempublicam optime institutam censeret? Eam, inquit, in quâ Cives Magistratui, Magistratus autem Legibus, constanter obtemperant. Solon, inter Septem Sapientum, & eorum qui iis connumerantur, Apophthegmata, Consilia, & Præcepta, &c. Page 13.

A prudent Monarch, though there should be nothing to check his Will, ought never to attempt to enlarge his Prerogatives by Force, Violence, and Injustice. That Prince who is desirous of enjoying a happy Reign, ought to win the Hearts of the People, by the Lustre of his Virtues, rather than by the Power of his Arms. Nothing is fo feldom feen, favs one of the wife Men of Greece, as a Tyrant who grows old on the Throne *. And indeed, Friend Isaac, if we consult Historians, whether ancient or modern, we shall find that most bad Princes met with very calamitous Disasters. To pass over Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and such-like, and to take a View only of the latter Ages, how unfortunate were Henry III. King of France, and Philip II. of Spain? The former was dispossessed of half his Dominions, and afterwards affaffinated by a Friar: and the latter, by his Cruelties, loft all the Provinces which now form the Commonwealth of Holland.

Such Laws as prescribe Bounds to the Power of Kings are the Security of it. Seldom a Century passes, but some astonishing Revolution is seen in Countries governed with despotic Sway. At a Time when it is supposed that an arbitrary Power is secured by the Precaution employed, Commotions immediately break out, which surprise the World. Absolute Power is like a wide-extended calm Sea, that has not been agitated for a long Time: The long Calm it has enjoyed seems to threaten a violent Storm; and the more the Winds have kept in their Blass, the more their Return, and that in the most impetuous Manner, may be justly dreaded. Seditions, Commotions, and Rebellions, start up

^{*}Eρωτηθείς τί δύσκολον είν τιθιαμένος; γίζονλα, εφη, τόρανιον. Interrogatus quid visus esset rarissmum! Senex, inquit, Tyrannus. Thales, ibidem, Page 23.

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from the Centre of Peace, and rife with the same Force and Impetuofity, as the North Winds out of Folus's Caverns *. When Henry II. concluded a Peace, and married his Daughter to Philip II. what Man could have imaged to himself the Calamities in which France was immediately involved, and continued fo during thirty Years together? Had the Laws restrained the cruel Proceedings of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III; had an Assembly of wife Men, zealous for the public Welfare, equally checked the most Hot-headed among the Royalists. the Protestants and the Leaguers; and had these three contending Parties been restrained by a powerful Authority, who should have protected those who deserved the most Favour; those Princes would not have treated so very unjustly the Bourbons, the Coligni's, and their Adherents. All Parties would have been equally forced to obey the Laws; and fuch among them, as should have refused to submit to them, would have been justly punished, by the Power of those who undertook to protect the Nation, and who would have declared in Favour of the most Worthy. But, so far from this, nothing was

* - - Ac Venti, velut Agmine fasto, Quâ datâ Portâ, ruunt, & Terras Turbine perstant. Incubuêre Mari, totumque à Sedibus imis Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque Procellis Africus: & vastos volvunt ad Littora Flustus.

Virgil Æneid. Lib. I.

" The raging Winds rush thro' the hollow Wound,

" And dance aloft in Air, and skim along the Ground:

"Then settling in the Sea, the Surges sweep;

Raife liquid Mountains, and disclose the Deep. South, East, and West, with mix'd Consusion roar,

" And roll the foaming Billows to the Shore."

DRYDEN.

able to curb the wild Fury of the different Parties. The States General of the Kingdom had fold themfelves to the Duke of Guise: And Henry III. being
abandoned by those who ought to have succoured
him, was at last assassinated by his Enemies. Had
there been a Power, to be a kind of Mediator between him and his Subjects, he would never have
been reduced to so sad an Extremity.

It might be objected, that, as the States of Blois represented the Parliament of England, they ought to have produced the same Effect. This indeed they would have done, if the Members of those States had not forget, not only their Duty, but their own Interest; and if they had employed their Authority, to quell the Tumults, instead of increasing them.

One would be apt to think that Heaven, to punish the French for the ill Use they made of their General States, permitted them to be intirely suppressed. In the Manner they were corrupted, so far from continuing to be of any Service to their Country, they only fomented Divisions and Commotions. Instead of labouring fincerely, and to the utmost of their Power, to raise the Glory of their Sovereign, and promote the Happine's of the People, the feveral Individuals thought of nothing but caballing, in order to get Posts and Preferments in Opposition to their Adversaries, or to decree such Statutes as might be highly prejudicial to them. The Parliament of England, on the contrary, flrictly endeavour to follow exactly the Laws of their Institution; as their Views are for the general Good of the Nation. little Regard is paid to the venal Defigns of particular Persons. This Parliament is animated with the Spirit with which Lycurgus wanted to fire that of Sparta. Hence they have nothing to fear, neither from the Policy of Monarchs, nor the Infurrections of Subjects; and thus it does not become either the Dupes of the former, nor the Sport of the latter.

Nevertheless, different Parties often arise in the British Parliament. But, though the Members of it differ widely very often in Opinion, they yet unite almost always in such Particulars as relate to the Glory and Advantage of the Nation. It was never known for any Member of this illustrious Assembly to propose ever putting to the Vote, whether their Country should submit to some foreign Power. How greatly foever the Whigs and Tories might clash, and how much foever they may have feemed to favour the French, they yet were never fo base as to invite Lewis XIV. to take Poffessiom of their Kingdom. But the Leaguers exerted their utmost Endeavours to get theirs delivered up to the Spaniards, and consequently to bring the whole French Nation in Subjection to Philip II.

The English, dear Isaac, deserve the Liberties they enjoy; and are fo much the more worthy of them, as they owe it to the Care they took to preserve Their Breasts all burn with the highest Zeal for that celeftial Virtue; and even private Perfons give up their own Interest, the Instant they perceive (or at least imagine they do fo) that the Particulars which favour themselves, may abridge the Privileges of their Country. Are we, after this, to wonder, that a People, who have so noble, so generous a Way of Thinking, should enjoy a Form of Government much more perfect than that of other Nations? Laws are influenced, not only by the Extent of the Genius of the Legislators by whom they were framed, but likewise by the Courage and Greatness of Soul of those who put them in Exe-

cution.

If a Parliament was to be instituted in Italy, and to enjoy the same Privileges with that of Great Britain,

tain, the Members of it would possibly often debate, concerning what Time of the Year it would be proper for Processions to be made, and at what a Clock Mattins or Vespers ought to be sung. If different Parties were to be formed in this Assembly, different Contests would doubtless arise in it: But we certainly should never see such an Italian Parliament divided about this glorious Design, viz. of making their Country the Arbiter of the rest of the European Powers, or of maintaining and spreading their Trade.

For these three Years together, the whole Senate of Genoa have spent all their Time in inquiring into the Particulars of a Murder, and have not yet been able to determine that Affair. It was to no Purpose that they set a Price upon Baron Newhoss's Head; that pretended Monarch is still living, and laughs at their impotent Rage *. How wide a Difference, dear Isaac, is there between these Italians and those of ancient Rome! The Romans endeavoured to vanquish their Enemies by Greatness of Soul, rather than by Force of Arms. As to the Genoese, they do not scruple any Attempts, provided they may be successful †. And they even would not be ashamed to employ the Means made Use of by the old Man of the Mountain.

I will confess to thee, dear Isaac, that I think it shocking to set, in this Manner, a Price upon a Man's Head, who may be attacked Sword in Hand. If such an Abuse ought to be tolerated on any Occasion, it is when a rebellious Subject stirs up a whole

^{*} Vivit, imò verò vivit . . . non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam, Audaciam, Cicero, Orat. prima in Catilinam.

[†] Dolus, an Virtus, quis in Hofte requirat.

Nation against their Sovereign, and reduces him, by that Means, to fo fatal a Necessity. Henry Ill. for Instance, was absolutely forced to treat, in this Manner, the Guises, who were going to seize upon his Crown. But when the like Conduct is observed with regard to a Man who is not bound by any Oath, nor under any Obligation, it is then fuch an infamous Action as the most refined Subtleties of Politics can never excuse. I would ask what Law forbids Baron Newboff to be an open Enemy to the Genoese? Are there any Ties which call upon him to fubmit to their Wills? Is he bound by any Contract, by a Convention? By none. It is a Foreigner who declares War against them. If they endeavour to make him repent of his Boldness, and purfue him with Fire and Sword, nothing can be more natural: But for them to attempt to get him affaffinated, this is so very shameful a Way of acting, that none can approve it but fuch as imagine Guilt no longer ought to bear that Name, when it is the Effect of Politics. To maintain fuch an Opinion would degrade the Majesty of Kings; would make them a Set of Men who are prompted to good or evil Actions only as they may promote their Interest; it is extirpating intirely Courage, Greatness of Soul, and true Virtue. Thou hast imbibed, excellent Isaac, too pure a Morality, not to condemn so pernicious and detestable an Opinion: And thou, doubtless, thinkest, that whoever commits a Crime, in whatever Station he may be, fails in his Duty to Heaven, to his Fellow-creatures, and to himself.

Enjoy thy Health, good Isaac; may thy Days be

contented and propitious.

London, the

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LETTER CLXXXI.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

Ouriofity prompted me, worthy Monceca, to undertake a Journey, during which I had frequent Occasion to reflect on the Misery of Mankind. I fet out some Time since for Tripoli, to go and visit the Ruins of Cyrene. Several Arabians, whose chief Food is Milk and Barley Meal, inhabit those Ruins. Their Manners are as pure as their Diet is simple and frugal. They contemn Riches, carefully practife the Laws of Hospitality, and have no other Employment but that of looking after their Flocks. If they were not fo indolent, we might confider them as true Philosophers, who, sensible of the Infignificancy of the Treasures which Men fo greatly fearch after, are able to restrain their Desires, and wish only for such Things as are necessary. But, so surprifing is their Indolence, they never fow but just the Quantity, which may support them during a Year, whence it sometimes falls out, that the Harvest not answering their Expectations, they are in want, and by that Means are obliged to barter some of their Cattle, in order to procure the Barley they want.

The Arabians profess the Mahommedon Religion, they nevertheless have several Usages that very much resemble ours; and it is very probable that many of their Customs are borrowed from the Jews. On Fridays they light up, in their Tents, Lamps like to those we make Use of, in our Houses, on the Sabbath-Day. They never eat of any Viands prepared

by Persons of a different Religion from themselves; which the Turks of the Levant, and the Africans, do not scruple to do. Nay, some of the last mentioned do not refuse such Meats or Drinks as are forbid by the Law; they considering this Precept as an Advice, not as an Order. I am of Opinion, worthy Monceca, that these Bedoins * borrowed their Customs from those of the ancient Jews, who were dispersed in Egypt, and over the Coasts of Africa, after the Destruction of Jerusalem and Bitter. The Ruin of this last mentioned City proved still more fatal to the Dispersion of our ill-fated Nation, than

that of the Capitol of Judea.

At some Leagues Distance from Cyrene, a Forest of a great Extent was found, inhabited by feveral Nations that profess no Religion; and who, like to the Beafts of the Field, follow blindly the Impulses of their Passions. It is affirmed that they are directed and governed wholly by Instinct. Among these People, as we are told, Sons enjoy their Mothers, Fathers their Daughters, and Brothers their Sisters. They know no such Distinctions as those of King, Magistrate, or Superior. The strongest Man is the most dreaded. They go almost naked, and have no other Dress, to secure themselves from the Inclemencies of the Weather, but the Skins of Goats they kill, and of which they make themselves a Kind of Cloaks; and for this Purpose they only dry them in the Sun.

When we consider attentively, dear Monceca, the Manner of Living of those Barbarians, what ought we to think of the Opinion of such Philosophers as so boldly contend for innate Ideas? I would only ask them, to what Purpose are all their fine-spun meta-

physical Discourses, fince they are all contradicted

by Experience?

Is it not furprifing, that a Man should pretend to argue against a real Thing, and upon no other Foundation than this, viz. that its Reality does not agree with the System he had formed in his Imagination? Ought not Philosophers to own frankly. that, whenever a Thing is demonstrated by Experience, it is abfurd to fearch for Reasons to combat it? But Men of great Genius sometimes fall into this mistaken Conduct. There is no Follower of Des Cartes or Mallebranche but is firmly persuaded, or declares he is fo, that the Soul has innate Ideas. which inable it to diffinguish easily between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice. When this obstinate Philosopher is told, that what is looked upon as vicious in one Country, is considered as laudable and virtuous in another; he either is contented with denying the Truth of this evident Fact, or has Recourse to a trifling Subterfuge; and imagines he makes fuch a Reply as is unanswerable, by faying, that Men stifle, by their depraved Education, those innate Ideas, and prevent the Effects of them.

Without attempting to demonstrate the Infignish-cancy of those Ideas, which are never of the least Use to the Soul; I affert, dear Monceca, that it is absolutely impossible there should be any innate Knowledge in the Understanding of Man, which may inable it to distinguish between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice. The Deity contented himself with indulging Reason to Mankind, by whose Aid they may easily raise themselves to that Degree of Persection which their Condition requires. The Light of Nature is sufficient to make them distinguish between the Profitable and the Honest; and, if they do not make this prudent Distinction, it is

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owing to their not reflecting, or their being carried

away by the Force of their Prejudices.

If there was some certain Rule (innate in the Soul) for distinguishing Good from Evil, it would be impossible, in Spite of Prejudices, that whole Nations should violate them, calmly, and without the least Fear of Anxiety. It would be still more surprising, that the Understanding should not sometimes perceive those Ideas which were in itself. Is it not absurd to assert, that the Mind should have a perfect Knowledge of a Thing on which it never reslected,

and which never presents itself to it?

No Man can deny, without refusing his Assent to the most evident Things, that all Laws, which are looked upon as facred in some Countries, are rejected in others, and confidered as vicious, and even fometimes as horrid and abominable ones. Soul is endued with innate Ideas at its Birth, I would ask, Friend Monceca, which of those Ideas we ought to confider as fuch? Whether those which inspire the Caribbees, who roast and eat a Man as they would a Chicken? Or those of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitors, who burn Jews in Honour of the Deity? Or those of the English and Dutch, who permit every Man to follow the Dictates of his Conscience, and punish such Crimes only as disturb civil Society? I am certain that a Cartefian would immediately anfwer, that there needs nothing more than common Sense to perceive how horrid the Spanish and Caribbee Customs are. But I would intreat him to tell me, of what Use are innate Ideas, fince we must have Recourse to Reason in order to examine the Reality of them, and judge of their Validity. The Light of Nature is therefore sufficient to illuminate the human Mind. If it be answered, that the Light of Nature acts only in. Confequence of these innate Ideas, this Objection may be eafily deltroyed; fince

Nations the most polished, the most civilized, and the most witty, have entertained the falsest, and even the most horrid Ideas, with regard to several fundamental Practices of Morality. " If any, fays an " illustrious Author *, can be thought to be natu-" rally imprinted, none, I think, can have a fair-" er Pretence to be innate than the following, Pa-" rents, preserve and cherish your Children. When " therefore you fay, that it is an innate Rule, what " do you mean? Either that it is an innate Princi-" ple, which, upon all Occasions, excites and di-" rects the Actions of all Men: Or elfe, that it is " a Truth which all Men have imprinted on their " Minds, and which therefore they know and affent " to. But in neither of these Senses is it innate. " First, that it is not a Principle, which influences " all Men's Actions, is what I have proved by the "Examples before cited: Nor need we feek fo far " as Mengrelia or Peru, to find Instances of such " as neglect, abuse, nay, and destroy their Chil-" dren; or look on it only as the more than Bru-" tality of some savage or barbarous Nations, when " we remember, that it was a familiar and uncon-" demned Practice, among the Greeks and Romans, " to expose, without Pity or Remorfe, their in-" nocent Infants. Secondly, that it is an innate "Truth, known to all Men, is also false. " But these Ideas (which must be all innate, if any "Thing of a Duty be fo) are fo far from being " innate, that it is not every studious thinking " Man, much less every one that comes into the "World, in which they are to be found clear and " distinct."

^{*} Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, Vol. I. Chap. iii. Page 37. London 1716.

The Partifans for innate Ideas do not call to mind, worthy Monceca, that not only these Principles, which they consider as most evident, are rejected by whole Nations, but likewise by learned Men who live among them, and are Members of the fame Society. All the Europeans look upon it as shameful and infamous to copulate with a Woman publicly: But a Philosopher, a Friend of mine, rejected this Idea as false and ridiculous. Will any Person affert that it was innate in his Soul? " Men. 11 fays be, make Choice of the most solitary Places " to multiply their Kind. They stay till Night " comes, to propagate their Species; and look out of for the most serene Days, and the most open Plains " to destroy them. A Husband does not dare to " approach his Wife before his Friends; and a Sol-" dier kills a very worthy Man, who never gave 44 him the least Offence, in Sight of an hundred 46 thousand Men, who approve and applaud the "Murder, and bestow the most glorious Names upon it."

How odd soever the Opinion may seem, viz. that it is not indecent to enjoy a Woman in public, nevertheless whole Nations have been seen, who, tho' they entertained the most exalted Ideas of true Glory, and honoured and cherished Virtue, yet blindly followed the Impulses of Nature, and were not under the least Restraint in Actions wherein their Wives shared. "The Nasamones, a great and populous Nation in Lybia, says Herodotus*, generally have several Wives, and enjoy them pub-

" licly, almost in the same Manner as the Mas" sagetes, after thrusting a Stick in the Ground be-

fore them. It is their Custom at Weddings for the Bride, on the Nuptial Night, to go and visit

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^{*} Herodotus, Lib. 4.

"the Men invited to the Ceremony, in order to lie with them; and every Spark, after having dallied with her, gives her a Present, which he had brought with him for that Purpose. They swear by those Men who were considered as the most just and virtuous among them, by laying their

" Hands on their Sepulchres *."

The bare Reflection of this fingle Passage will evidently prove the Fallity of innate Ideas. We thereby fee whole Nations revere Virtue to fo great a Degree, as to deify those who adhered most strictly to its Dictates: And, nevertheless, spite of these pure Ideas, how absurd are some of their Customs with regard to the Marriage State! What then will become of these innate Ideas by which Mankind are able to distinguish Things that are honest from fuch as are shameful? How emphatically soever Tully's Authority may be urged, to prove that Honesty and Virtue are naturally known to Mankind; may it not be justly answered, that this Roman Philosopher's Thought may be thus explained, viz. that they are inabled to diffinguish Good from Evil by Reflection, but not from an innate Principle?

If it should be objected, that the Nasamones, tho' they had the Means of Reslection, like other Men, continued nevertheless in their Blindness; and consequently, that the Reslection, which I suppose to serve them as a Rule for distinguishing Good from Evil, is as useless as innate Ideas: To this I answer.

^{*} Atqui nos Legem bonam a malâ, nullâ aliâ nist Natura Norma, dividere possumus. Nec solum Jus & Injuria à Natura dijudicantur, sed omnino omnia Honesta ac Turpia. Nam & communis Intelligentia nobis notas Res efficit, easque in Animis nostris inchoavit, ut Honesta in Virtute ponantur, in Vitiis Turpia. Cicero de Legibus, Lib. I. fol. 331.

that the Soul may indeed not perceive certain Things, when it had no Knowledge of them; but that it is impossible for it to have a perfect and innate Idea, and never make any Attention to it. When a Nation, clouded by Prejudices, does not make Use of their Reason in certain Matters, it is natural that their Minds should not reflect on a Matter whereof they have no Knowledge, and which they cannot fully discover by insensible Degrees. But the Understanding which we ought to acquire by innate Ideas differs widely. It ought to act with Strength, fince it is engraved, in indelible Characters, on the Understanding; and all Prejudices, how strong soever, cannot eclipse it totally. It must necessarily throw out, from Time to Time, fome Sparks, and inlighten the Soul, amidst the Gloom of the most barbarous Customs. Now, nothing is fo certain, as that the Mind does not perceive any of those Glimmerings. The Nasamones were as firmly perfuaded, that it was a wife and pious Action to caufe the Bride to lie with all the Men who came to her Wedding, as a Spaniard is convinced that it is a laudable Action to cause a Man to be burnt who refuses to kiss the Pope's Slipper. What have innate Ideas to do in these distant Customs? Why do they not act? If they do exist, of what Use are they? It can hardly be asked why Reflection does not act in its Turn; but, should fuch a Query be offered, the Reply would be this, that the Reason why it does not act is because it does not exist yet, and has not been employed. But it is not the same with regard to innate Ideas: They are planted in the Soul; they are in it, and yet do not present themselves the Moment in which they should appear with the utmost Lustre.

I am very much furprifed, Friend Monceca, how it was possible for so chimerical an Opinion to meet

with fo many Partizans; and I am still more furprised, that, among these Partizans, some should be Philosophers of the highest Rank. I should be apt to believe, that the Singularity of this Opinion was the Cause of its being patronised by the Perfons in question. It must be confessed, that there is a certain Lustre in it that pleases at first Sight: but, the Moment we examine it attentively, we are obliged to own, that all these innate Ideas are mere Chimeras of the Brain; and that the Deity indulged Mankind no other Method, in order to distinguish Good from Evil, than the Liberty of reflecting and making Use of their Reason. It would be idle to pretend, that the natural Light is as useless to them as innate Ideas, fince, spite of this precious Gift, whole Nations feem to enjoy no more than bare Instinct. It is the same with human Reason as with Free-will: They may make Use of it if they think proper, without being reduced to the Necessity of employing it. From this Liberty it is that the different Degree of Wisdom, Prudence, and Virtue, which is found among Men arises.

What Difficulty soever we may find in reconciling the Condition of certain Nations with the Ideas we form to ourselves of supreme Wisdom, we ought to submit, and conclude there are certain Secrets which we are not allowed to pry into. If the Caribbees are so stupid as to seed upon the Prisoners they take in War; if the Inhabitants of Zocotora kill their Fathers when afflicted with a dangerous Sickness, or far advanced in Years; we may suppose, that it was in their Power to have known by Ressection, how widely their Maxims differed from true Equity. "We shall have no Cause, says a "famous Author*, to complain of our Knowledge,

^{*} Locke.

" if we apply our Minds to what may be of Ser"vice to us; because, in this Case, it may be of

" great Use to us."

Those Men, most worthy Monceca, who plunge in to the greatest Disorders, ought to blame themfelves for it. We can scarce doubt but that there are certain Practices, the Imperfections of which are known by the most barbarous Nations. I am certain that all Men, as foon as they have attained to Years of Discretion, are sensible that it is not just to do to others what they would not defire to have done to themselves. And yet so strong are their Passions or Prejudices, that they do not attend to their first Reflections; and act agreeably to the Customs established in the Society whereof they are The Nazarenes confider Murder as a Members. Crime; and yet do they not daily murder one another, as though they were so many wild Beafts? To what Heights had they carried the Practice of Duelling! A Quarrel between two Men often caused the Death of twenty others, who had never the least Dispute. The like mistaken Conduct prompts Savages to devour their Enemies. Methinks it is not so cruel to serve up the divided Limbs of a human Body at a Feast, as to kill a Man. Nevertheless, most Nations have bestowed upon it the mistaken Names of Courage and Intrepidity. The most civilized People have also fallen in to this Error; but will any one fay, on this Occasion, that they were deprived of the Means for Reflection?

Enjoy thy Health, good Monceca, live contented

and happy.

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LETTER CLXXXII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conflantinople.

THE Jesuits, dear Isaac, are forbid, upon Pain of Death, to reside in England. The Government dreads their Politics and dangerous Affability, and have set every Engine at work to secure themselves from their Machinations*.

The Fears of, and Hatred in which they hold the Sons of Loyola, reflects as much Honour on them, as that which the Nazarenes bore to Mahemmed did on his Conqueror. The Rejoicings they made at his Death, were as glorious as so many Panegyrics. The cautious Methods which the English take, to keep the Jesuits out of their Country, is a perpetual Encomium of their Genius, as well as of their great Skill in Affairs of the most delicate Nature.

We are surprised, excellent Isaac, when we reflect on the astonishing Progress they made in a very

Dona carere Dolis Danaum? Sic notus Ulysses?

Quicquid est, timeo Danass, & Dona ferentes. Virgil. Æneid. II.

Think you the Grecians from your Coasts are gone, And are Ulysses' Arts no better known?

Truft not their Presents, nor admit their Horse.

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short Time; and can scarce conceive it possible for them, in the Space of fifty Years, to become fo powerful, as to overturn Part of Europe. And, indeed, who would not be furprifed to fee an ignorant, enthusiastic Creature, assisted by four or five such Creatures as himself, by the Foundations of the most powerful Commonwealth established in these later Ages. What Elogiums foever the Jesuits may have bestowed on their Founder, and how strongly soever they may have endeavoured to get him ranked among the most exalted Genius's, the World is not imposed upon by their fabulous Tales; nor can their chimerical Exaggerations leffen the Surprise of People. It is fo certain that their Legislator was always a very ignorant Creature, that, at the Time when the Papal Court was greedy to canonize him, the Parifians not only confidered him as a frantic Wretch, but even inveighed against him in full Senate. The Parliament of Paris were not displeased to hear the Advocate, who spoke in the Name of all the French Divines, give the Founder in question the worst of Characters. "Ignatius, says Pasquier, " in his Plea for the University of Paris against the " Jefuits *, was a Spaniard in the Time of our Fa-" thers who had devoted himself to a military Life. " He happened to be wounded in the City of Pamo pe una, when we were laying Siege to it. Whilft

"he was under the Surgeon's Hands, he amused himself with reading the Lives of the Fathers;

of for his Ignorance was fo great, that he could not

" raise his Mind to more exalted Subjects."

Here, excellent Laac, we have an authentic Certificate of Ignatius's Ignorance, and the Jesuits themselves do not deny it. They only pretend,

Pasquier, Recherches de la France, Livr. III.

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ir of that, after having retired from the World, he applied himself to Study; that he made a very great Progress in it, and became as eminent for his Learning as his Piety. Though this should be granted them, it nevertheless will follow, that their Founder was vafily ignorant; as was proved by the Body of the University of Paris, in Presence of the chief Magistrates of the Kingdom. "Ignatius, says Pas-" quier again*, got with some People. They " travelled together to Rome and Jerusalem; and, " at last, sounded their Retreat in Venice, a City "which, being exposed to all the Winds and "Waves of the Sea, is owned, by some Italian "Authors, to be the Receptacle of many Vices of " the most odious Kind. There they wore, during " fome Time, the Mask of Hypocrify, and pre-" tended to a great Sanctity and Austerity of Life; " when perceiving that People began to approve of " their Superstitious Practices, - they took the " bold Resolution to go to Rome, and there began " to promulgate their Doctrines. And, notwith-" standing that the greatest Part of them were ig-" norant, not only of Divinity, but likewise of the " first Elements of Grammar, they yet began to " promise aloud two Things; the one to preach the "Gospel to Unbelievers, in order to convert them " to the Faith; the other, to instruct all Persons in " Learning, gratis."

If it were true that Ignatius had as much Learning as his Disciples declare, I cannot conceive that the Parliament would have permitted it to be called superstitious and hypocritical; or that the University, in full Senate, would have supported and confirmed the Speech made by their Advocate. Would it not

^{*} Pasquier, Recherches de la France, Livr. III. Chap. xliii. Page 319.

have been very surprising, had an Assembly of sagacious Magistrates permitted Persons to advance, without the least Proof, Particulars of so odious and blackening a Nature? For there is no Medium on this Occasion. Either Ignatius was such as the Jesuits declare him to have been, or he was an Hypocrite, and pretended Zealot. If he had spent his Life in Virtue, a venerable Assembly ought not to have suffered his Memory to be aspersed by a scandalous Plea: But if, on the contrary, he merited the Invectives thrown upon him by Pasquier, the Parliament should necessarily have been silent: But this Silence, which is equivalent to an Approbation, exists, and consequently Ignatius was an Hypocrite.

Reason confirms this Opinion; which is strongly corroborated by the Rules and Inflitutions of the Jesuits. If it be taken for granted, that the Founder of the Society was a Man remarkable for his Simplicity, Good-nature, and Piety, and studious to shun all human Pomp; we cannot conceive how it was possible for his Disciples, if they had observed his Rules, to become so great and formidable. But if it be once owned that he was a cunning Knave, and an artful Hypocrite, we no longer wonder that the sesuits should have risen to such Power and Authority: For notwithstanding that Ignatius was very ignorant in the Sciences, he yet might have excelled in Politics; a Circumstance which is sufficient to account for this sudden and boundless Power to which the Society rose, presently after its Foundation.

I know not, good Monceca, whether I am mistaken in my Conjectures, but there appears to me a vast Affinity between Mahommed and Ignatius Loyola. Great Faults were seen in both: Both equally affected enthusiastic Inspirations; and both endeavoured, in the most artful and boldest Man-

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ner, to give Success to them. Both were utterly ignorant; and found the Art, by their Hypocrify, to supply their Want of Knowledge: Both of them rose from very small Beginnings; and both established Empires, which have been very much aggrandized, by the Ruin of a great Number of Princes, who fell the sad Victims to them.

We therefore cannot, without being unjust, refuse the two Legislators in question the Elogiums Notwithstanding all the far-fetched they merit. Exclamations, as well of the Nazarenes against Mahommed, as of the Jansenists against Ignatius, yet every impartial Person will allow, that they were both illustrious Knaves, who made a very artful Use of Enthusiasm and Hypocrisy, in order to obtain their Ends; and the more they are reproached with Ignorance, the more it will redound to their Glory. They must necessarily have been Masters of the most profound Politics, to be able to compensate for such an Imperfection.

When a Person is firmly persuaded, most worthy Isaac, of the least Resemblance there is between the Head of the Jesuits and that of the Mahommedans, we are no longer surprised at the wonderfully rapid Progress made by the Society: The Reason of this is found among the Turks; and, in peruling their History, we find in what Manner a Religion, ridiculoufly founded on Superstition and Enthusiasm, but artfully supported by Artifice and Politics, may rife

to a great Height in a fhort Time.

If we inquire attentively into the Conduct of the Jesuits, we shall find that it bears a great Affinity to that of the Muffulmen. They make Use of the fame Methods to enlarge their Sect; and, like them, endeavour to seduce Mankind by fomenting their Passions, or terrifying them by Fear. If the attractive Charms of a Plurality of Wives, and the inevi-

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inevitable Power of the Ottoman Arms, won Asia to the Mahommedan Faith; the loose Morality of the Jesuits, and the dreadful Persecutions which those who opposed their Opinions were made to suffer, at last brought over to them all those who resused, at

first, to submit to Ignatius's Institutions.

It is very eafy to make an Impression upon the Minds of Men, when they are attacked on their weak Side. It is daily confessed, that no one ought to wonder that the relaxed and feducing Opinions of Mahommed should have won over so many Proselytes. Why then should any Person be surprised, that those of Ignatius Loyola, which he preached up and supported in the same Manner, should have made the like Progress? In admitting the Parallel between the Turkish and the Jesuitic Politics, the Mind easily unravels a Mystery, which it could never discover, in supposing Ignatius to have been really indued with a Spirit of Piety. If he had been as humble as his Followers pretend him to have been, as he was fo tremely ignorant, he confequently would have founded, at most, an Order like to that of the Capuching Francis d' Affise was merely an Enthusiast; and, accordingly, all his Followers were as filly and wrong-headed as himfelf.

As the Credit and Authority, which the Society has acquired over the Minds of many Perfons, is founded on the above-mentioned Motives; when a Perfon has at last discovered them, he no longer feels that Astonishment, which the Rapidity of their Progress creates in the Minds of those who do not go to the Bottom of Things. But I will sincerely own, that I cannot conceive how it was possible for the Jesuits ever to obtain the Protection of crowned Heads, as they are still, and have always een their most cruel Enemies. If it be objected, that Artisice, Complacency, Cunning, Knavery,

and Politics, pave their Way to the Favour of Princes; I answer that these several Qualities, according to the natural Course of Things, ought not to secure them from the Indignation that should accrue to them from the Opinions of their chief Authors, which are also those of the Society; and which undermine the Power of Sovereigns, and make them Slaves to the Roman Pontiff. One Charles Scribani, Rector of their Convert at Antwerp, has publicly maintained in his Theatrum Honoris*, that the Pope might disposses Princes of their Dominions at Pleasure. This is the favourite Opinion of the Society, how contrary foever it may be to the Tranquillity of a People, and to that of Sovereigns. It is yet less so than another Opinion afferted by a numberless Multitude of Divines among the Jesuits, which permits Subjects to rebel against their Kings, and to violate the Oath of Fidelity they took to them, whenever they imagine there is any just Reason for complaining of it +.

Is it not strange, excellent Isaac, that a Set of Men, who maintain Maxims so pernicious to Princes, should yet meet with such Favour from them; be their Ministers of State, their Directors, their Friends and Confidents? These are Things we cannot comprehend, till Experience shall have proved

^{*} In which he had disguised himself under the Name of Clarus Bonarscius, the Anagram of his Latin Name Carolus Scribanius.

[†] Tyrannice gubernans lata Sententia potest deponi à Populo, etiam qui juravit ei perpetuam Obedientiam, si monitus non vult corrigi. Emanuelis Sa Summa, de Summo Pontis. Cap. LVIII. Rex ______ si non fucit Officicium suum, cum est aliqua justa Causa eligi potest alius à majori Parte Populi. Eman. Sa, ibidem.

the Certainty of them, for it would be to no Purpose to object, that the Books in which these dangerous Tenets are found, are the Compositions of private Persons, which therefore ought not to bring an Odium upon the Body. The Reflections, which a Jesuit inserts in the Writings published by him, ought to be confidered as those of the whole Society. They have the Approbation of a great Number of Divines, appointed by the General of the Order, who, in his Name, and that of the whole Society, adopt and patronize every Thing contained in the Book. No Book, how monstrous soever it may be, that was writ by a Jesuit, but it is favoured with an authentic Certificate, given in the Name of the Superiors. Mariana's execuable Treatife has this Advantage; and the following Attestation is scen at the Head of it: I, STEPHEN HOJEDA, Vifitor of the Jefuits in the Province of Toledo, by the special Power which I received from CLAUDIUS A-QUAVIVA, our Father General, permit the Publication of the three Books which JOHN MARIANA, a Father of the said Society, has writ, and which are entitled, Of the King, and his Institution; the Work in question having been already approved by a considerable Number of learned Persons, distinguished by their Merit, of our faid Society. In Witness whereof I have writ these Letters, Subscribed with my Name, to which my Seal is affixed. From our College in Madrid, the Fifth of December 1598. Signed STEPHEN HOJEDA, Visitor *. As

STEPHANUS HOJEDA, Visitator Societatis Jesu in Provincia Toletana, potestate speciali sacta à nostro Patre Generali Claudio Aquaviva, do Facultatem ut imprimentur Libri tres quos de Rege & Regis Institutione composuit P. Joannes Mariana ejustem Societatis, quippe approbatos prius à Viris doctis & gravibus ex codem nostro Ordine.

As Mariana's Morality is that of the General of the Jesuits, and of all those whom he appoints to examine the Books published by Jesuits, is not the Favour which the Society has acquired at the Courts of fo many Princes a very furprifing Circumstance? One might naturally imagine that fuch Monarchs. as admit the Jesuits at their Courts, are prompted to this rather through Fear than Inclination; and that they cares Enemies whom they would be glad to extirpate. But have we not feen some Kings entertain the strongest Affection for them, and consider them as the chief Pillars of their Throne, and the Support of their Government? Though the Enemies of the Jesuits publish ever so much against them, and charge them with Crimes of the blackest Dye, yet, if they will speak sincerely, they must own, that the Jesuits must be endued with a great Superiority of Understanding, to execute the Deligns formed by them. Those Men must be great Politicians, who can win the Favour of Persons whom they injure, and can artfully ward off the Thrusts made at them fo as not to be perceived. If we examine the greatest Master-strokes of the ablest Machiavelists, and peruse Relations of the most delicate Negotiations, nothing will be found so hard to reconcile, as the Vows made by the Jesuits, by which they bind and engage themselves to obey implicitly all the Commands of the Roman Pontiff; whom they declare to have the Privilege of dethroning Monarchs; and the Authority they enjoy in the Courts of those Kings, whom they subject to the Will of a Prieft? If we inquire what Effort of Genius is required, to reconcile Things so opposite

Ordine. In cujus Rei Fidem has Literas dedi men Nomine subscriptas, & meo Officii Sigillo munitas. Madriti, in Collegio nostro, quarto Nonas Decembris, M.D.LXXXVIII. in their Natures; or, at least, to prevent their not reciprocally prejudicing each other: Then, I say, we shall be sensible, how extensive the Genius of the Society must be. There is nothing, how difficult soever, but they compass sooner or later: And, the Instant they form any Enterprise, they are sure to go through with it, what Obstacles soever may arise in their Way. It is then indeed, when Politics are not sufficient, that they make Use of Force and Violence. But, in a Word, they never sail to

execute their Defigns one Way or other.

The Jesuits were no sooner settled in France, but they vowed the Ruin of the Protestants, and at last completed it. But what Rubs did they not meet with in their Way before they compassed their Ends; what mighty Machinations were employed by them? When they faw Henry III. was reconciled to the King of Navarre, they, by their feditious Sermons, stirred up a Monk, who stabbed that ill-fated King. But, upon their attempting to ferve his Successor in the same Way, they met with such a Missortune as would have disconcerted the most intrepid Genius's. However, they furmounted this Obstacle; and Posterity will be furprifed to hear that a powerful Monarch should recal into his Kingdom his most inveterate Enemies; heap the utmost Favours upon them; and pitch upon one of them for his spiritual Director. Jesuits are the only Men whose prodigious Politics can exhibit fuch extraordinary Effects to Mankind. Their Return to France completed the Ruin of their Enemies. They gave them the first mortal Wounds under Lewis XIII. and quite crushed them under Lewis XIV: The Jansenists met, infenfibly, with the like Treatment. They have already put the Ax to the Root of the Tree; and it is decreed that it must fall.

The more, dear Monceca, I study the History of the Jesuits, their Maxims, and the Rules prescribed to them by their Founder, the more I applaud the Wisdom of the English and Dutch, in not permitting them to come into their respective Countries. It is necessary to fet up a strong Barrier against such powerful Enemies, and even to shun the Neighbourhood of them as much as possible. I consider Loyola's Disciples as so many Soldiers, who bear on their Shields a Talisman, which gives them a Certainty, whenever they have the Advantage of fighting their Enemies Hand to Hand, to vanquish them fooner or later. Every Jesuit is a skilful Necromancer, armed with three poisoned Darts, Politics, Hypocrify, and Violence. Whatever may be his Situation, in what Pott foever he may be, he always finds out the Secret to make Use of one of those Weapons. We be to those who happen to be wounded by them. Their Wounds are as incurable as those of PhiloEtetes, and nothing but a Deity can heal them. The English are so firmly persuaded of this Truth, that they have enacted a Law, by which all fuch Jesuits as appear in their Country, are fentenced to Death: And England is the same with regard to the Jesuits, as the Island of Calypso was to the ancient Greeks.

Enjoy thy Health, excellent Isaac; may thy Days be contented and propitious. Above all, take Care to have no Contests with the Jesuits; and always call to Mind, that, if they are skilful Knaves, they ought to be the more dreaded on that Account.

London, the

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LETTER CLXXXIII.

ISAAC ONIS, a Caraite, formerly a Rabbi af Constantinople, to AARON MON-CECA.

THOU will justly complain, excellent Monceca, of my Silence; but this thou oughtest to excuse, on Account of the Multiplicity of Business I have had upon my Hands. I have perused with great Pleasure Part of the new Books thou hast been fo good as to fend me. Those on philosophical Subjects were extremely entertaining; and I gave myfelf up, for several Days, to a thousand Reflections; which carried me away, as it were, from myfelf: And I was wholly taken up with certain Ideas, whose Connexion I fought after. I endeavoured very affiduously to do this; and yet I met with some which

I found it impossible to reconcile with others.

Our Rabbi's, dear Monceca, affert, that we shall one Day rise from the Dead; and that every one shall resume the same Body he had when in this sublunary World. This is the Belief of the Mahommedans, as it likewise is of the Nazarenes: And therefore we may fay, that the Followers of all Religions, who worship one fole Deity, declare in Favour of this Opinion. They even prove the Possibility of this from Reason, and instance the Power of the Almighty, which, as it created the World, will not find it difficult to give a Portion of Matter the same Form it had before. All that the most learned, the most eloquent Nazarene Divines say on this Head, is not stronger nor more emphatical than what we read in the Koran. Notwithstanding the many Abfurdities

furdities which occur in this Book, it nevertheless exhibits, in a great Number of Places, an exalted Idea of the divine Majesty; and that wherein Mention is made of the Resurrection of the Dead is of that Number: Wherefore (fays the supreme Being, according to Mahommed) wherefore should not Mankind arise? Do they not see the Heavens above them, in what Manner we have built it, how adorned it? And that it has not one fingle Imperfection? We have spread forth the Earth, raised the Mountains, and produced Fruits of every Kind, to manifest our almighty Power. We have fent Rain from Heaven, and have given Rife to Gardens, to Corn pleasing to the Reapers, to Palm-trees, some raised higher than the rest, in order to inrich the Creatures. We have given Life to the Earth, though dead, dry, and barren. The Dead therefore shall rife out of their Graves *. No Argument, in Favour of the Resurrection, can be stronger than this; and it would be impossible for the French, English, German, &c. Divines, to produce more convincing Reasons to this Purpose. Could any beetter Proofs be given of the Poffibility of the Execution of a certain Thing, than to flew evidently, that he, who is supposed to execute it, has completed and perfected a great Number of Things equally difficult.

How strong soever these Arguments may appear, yet, when they are examined with Care, they will be found more showy than solid. It is certain that the Creator's Power is boundless; that he is as able to annihilate and destroy Matter as to create it; and that it is in his Power to draw forth a new World from Non-entity: But there are certain Things which he cannot execute, because they interfere with his Wisdom and Greatness. He cannot produce

^{*} Koran. Chapter, of the Thing judged, Page 308.

a Being

a Being as perfect as himself; he cannot be the Author of Evil; is not susceptible of Passion, Jealousy, Hatred and Fury. The wisest Philosophers own, that he cannot change the Essence of Things; for Instance, to cause a Staff to be a Staff without two Ends; because that, the Instant a Thing has not two Ends, it will not be a Staff; God, for the same Reason, would not cause a material Thing to be without Extension, every Thing that is material being necessarily extended. If this evident Principle is admitted, we may easily find out very strong Arguments against the following Opinion, viz. That, at the general Resurrection, all Men will re-assume the same Bodies in which they were lodged during this mortal Life.

It must be considered, that, at the Beginning of the World, God created a certain Quantity of Matter, which afterwards was fufficient to form all the different Works produced by him; fo that what now forms Trees, Fields, Mountains, Men, &c. in Mesopotamia, formed, four thousand Years ago, the Trees, Fields, Mountains, Men, &c. in that Country. To be convinced of this Truth, we need but cast our Eyes on what occurs in all Countries. We there see the Corn, and the rest of the Plants, shoot up, which owe the Increase of their Bulk to the Earth which feeds them. These afterwards increase the Extent of the human Body, to which they ferve as Nourishment. Afterwards the Men in question die, and are changed into Earth, which ferves, a fecond Time, to give Birth to Fruits. there is, in Nature, a perpetual Transmutation, whereby a certain Quantity of Matter is fufficient to produce all Things that are forming daily. This being the Case, I affert that it is physically imposfible, that Mankind should one Day re-assume the Body they formerly wore: For that which ferved like

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to form the Limbs of one Man was employed, in like Manner, in forming those of two thousand more.

To have a clear Idea of this, we must consider what happens in a Plain, where, after a bloody Battle has been fought, thirty thousand Men may be left dead in the Field of Battle. They are buried in the Plain, which is thereby very much fattened. The Year after, the Plowmen fowing their Corn, there are found, in every Blade, several Particles of the same Matter, which composed the Bodies of the Soldiers who had been buried; and those Particles, being transformed into Wheat, enlarge the Limbs of a great Number of Persons. I will suppose that, among these, there happens to be a Native of Limousin in France, a great Eater of Bread, who, taking for his Share, a great Quantity of that Matter, which, a litle before, belonged to the Soldiers, feeds upon it during a Year, and increases two Inches in Stature. I would inquire to whom this Matter ought to belong, at the general Refurrection? To the Soldier? But then the Case which held the Limousin's Soul would be two Inches too short; and, if the Limousin should keep it, the Soldier would be in the same Diffress. I shall go still farther, and carry the Transmutation of Matter to a fecond Degree. If a Hog should happen to eat the Limousin's Excrement, and fatten himself with it during Winter, several Particles of the Soldier will likewise get into the unclean Animal in Question. This a greedy Nazarene kills; eats afterwards a great Quantity of it; and then dallying with a Wife or a Mistress, the most subtile Particles of this Hog, blended with a great many of those of the Soldier, contribute to the Forming of another Man. To whom then will this Body belong at the Refurrection?

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The same Question may likewise be asked with regard to the Bodies of most Men; fince a numberless Multitude of them must necessarily be maimed, by Reason of the great Transmutation that must have happened in the Matter of which they were composed. It might happen that Julius Casar might fee his Ears clapped to the Head of some Monsignore, and his Nose to the Face of a Courtezan, It would be to no Purpose for him to say, I am the Victor of the Gauls and of Pompey, and subjected the whole Universe. Is it fit that a Hero of my Rank should appear without a Nose and Ears; and that you petty Pontiff in Partibus, and you lewd Woman, Should bedeck themselves with what belongs to me? Methinks I hear the Roman Prelate answer thus, in a haughty Tone: How insolent is it for a Heathen to offer to contend for a Thing with a Nazarene Prelate? Avaunt, thou idolatrous profane Wretch! Thy Ears have too much Honour done them in being set upon my Head. They had the Happiness to be canonized an hundred Years after my Death. During upwards of a thoufand they have been praised, and Hymns have been chaunted in their Honour. Would they have met with this good Fortune, had they not belonged to me? Were the Roman Emperor to address the Courtezan, he might meet with the like Rebuff: Your most humble Servant, would she say to him; I have the utmost Regard for you, mighty Cæsar. I have frequently met with your Statue in the Villa belonging to the Medicean Family, and in other Country-feats, whither I used to go and take the Air with my Gallants. I often heard you applauded, as a very great Man; however, I cannot be so complaisant, as to appear before People without a Nose, merely to please you. Inquire whether, among the Crouds that are in this Place, if somebody has not a Nose to spare. Thus would poor Fulius

Julius Casar be obliged to appear as a Deserter: Thrice happy in getting off at so easy a Rate, and in not being so far insulted, as to see his whole Head contribute to the Formation of the Buttocks of some Cardinal's Porter.

I feek, Friend Monceca, but to no Purpose, for some Means to put an End to the Confusion and Perplexity of the Souls whose Limbs shall be maimed in this Manner. Philosophy does not suggest a fingle one. Should it be answered that God, who created the Universe out of nothing, will easily be able to invest these Souls with Bodies, this is a Truth I shall readily grant. But then I may be justly allowed to conclude, that these new Bodies will not be the same with those which we put off, at our leaving the World; and therefore the Opinion, which afferts that we shall rife with the same Body, must be false. Should it be answered, that God will extend Matter; and that, from a fingle Atom of the Earth, which formed a Body, he will enlarge it so as to be sufficient for that Purpose; I will still deny that these are the same Bodies, because their Essence will be changed, this new Matter not being the same with that which was before, and God not being able to cause a Thing which has been used to have not been used, fince it is not in his Power to change the Essence of Things.

To set my Idea in a clear Light, I will suppose that there is no more than the Body of one single Man in the World. In the Space of ten thousand Years, God sends three hundred Souls, successively, to inhabit it; and, at last, commands these several Souls to re-assume the Body they dwelt in. In this Case, either three hundred Souls must be found lodged in a single Body, or God must create two hundred and ninety-nine new Ones. This is so manifest a Truth, that all the vain Subtleties of the School-

men can never lessen the Force of it; and, what Arguments soever may be objected, it would be impossible to obscure a Thing that presents itself so

clearly to the Mind.

I am firmly perfuaded, dear Monceca, of the Refurrection of the Body; but think that those make a random Affertion, who pretend to determine exactly the Manner in which it will happen. But why will any Person affert, that we shall re-assume the same Bodies? To what Purpose is it to explain a Mystery which we do not comprehend? The Nazarenes, and particularly the Papists, maintain obstinately this Opinion; and I pity them for it. They are taught, in their facred Books, that Bodies will rife from the Dead, for which Reason they ought to admit this Opinion. But why will they attempt to explain exactly the Manner in which this will happen? Wherefore, not fatisfied with knowing that the Soul will one Day resume a Body, do they pretend to fix the Manner in which the Deity ought to act on that Occasion?

In all Religions, dear Monceca, the Force of the feveral Errors is the ridiculous Curiofity which Mankind have to dive into the Mysteries of the Almighty. If a Thing is revealed to them, only in part, they are eager to inquire the Ways which the Deity will employ in order to bring it about. They ascribe their own Weaknesses to the supreme Being: And imagine that he ought to employ fuch Methods as appear to them the best and most natural. this Means they dishonour the Deity, and ascribe to him the most absurd Actions, such as are most incompatible with his Nature. Upon Pretence of giving an exalted Idea of his boundless Power, they are for having him do Things directly contrary to the immutable Order which he himself has established, such as that of the general Resurrection of

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the fame Bodies. They even fometimes proceed to fuch Lengths, as to endeavour to apologize, from the Power of God, for the most filly Superstitions, as well as for the most visible Deceits.

Did not John Ferrand, a Jesuit of Anneci, prefume to maintain, in a very voluminous Work, concerning the Worship of Relics, that, when several Bodies of the same Saint are sound in different Churches, they were thus multiplied miraculously by the Deity to increase the Devotion of the Faithful *?

To prove this Absurdity, he produces such Arguments, as must appear shocking to every honest Nazarene: And I myself, though a Jew, will own that I blushed at this Friar's Impudence, and to see him thus debase the most sacred Mysteries of Religion. He makes such an odious Comparison, as is highly injurious to the Deity; and that merely to shew how possible it is for the Bodies of the Saintlike Persons in question to be multiplied. It is certain that this Mystery was not so difficult to unravel as that of the Resurrection. He needed but to have frankly owned, that the efficient Cause of the Multiplicity of these Relics was owing to the Avarice of the Friars. It is on these Occasions as with a fa-

[&]quot;Unum mihi sat erit in præsentia dicere, Supremum Numen suam procul dubio explicuisse Potentiam in iis nominatim Reliquiis multiplicandis, seu replicandis, quæ revera non nisi unæ secundum Unitatem, & Natura sua singulares existere poterant, ut sunt, verbi gratia, Præputium, Sanguis, aliaque id genus, quæ cum ad Corporis Christi Perfectionem faciant, vel quæ cum ipso, vel ab ipso, traxerint Originem, nec multiplices esse, nec diu illibatæ seu integræ servari poterant, nisi Divina Vis mirabilem in Modum accessiste. Idem in aliis permultis singularibus Christi Divorumque Reliquiis videre est. Joan. Ferrandi Disquisitio Reliquiaria, Page 7.

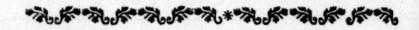
mous Wine: Every Vintner will have some in his Cellar, to bring Custom to his House; and when it is all drunk up, he himself brews a fresh Quantity. Does not every one know that half the Vintners in Paris make their Burgundy in Surene *. Most Part of the Relics are picked up, at random, any where: And the Bodies of a Rope-dancer, or a Player, often pass for those of St. Pacomius, or of St. Mathurin. Let us deplore, worthy Monceca, the Blindness of poor Mortals, who sall a Sacrifice to Knaves and Impostors; and let us always endeavour to raise ourselves above vulgar Prejudices.

Farewel, dear Monceca, live contented and hap-

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LETTER CLXXXIV.

AARON MONCECA to JACOB BRITO.

Shall foon leave England, dear Isaac, and will go and spend some Days in Scotland. After this I will return to France; and believe that it will be an inexpressible Pleasure to me, at my Arrival in Paris, to be inabled there to make a just Comparison between the Manners, Customs, and Way of Thinking of the French, and those of the English, the Ideas of which will be still fresh in my Memory. I am certain that this will surnish me with a thousand

[.] A little Village near Paris.

useful Reflections, which I shall not fail to communicate to Thee. Nothing can contribute more to the Improving of the Genius, and the Cultivating of the Understanding, than Comparisons made between two Nations; since, by this Means, we discover the most fecret Recesses of the human Mind.

We perceive many Weaknesses among some Men. which we know to be fuch, because they are not masked; and which are looked upon, in several others. as Virtues, because they are covered with an infidious Vail. When we fee a Frenchman studious of pleasing, to the utmost of his Power, those with whom he lives, and bestowing the highest Marks of Civility and Tenderness upon them, we imagine, at first Sight, that a true and folid Friendship is the Characteristic of his Countrymen. However, we find we were greatly mistaken, if we afterwards live among the English. We find that, notwithstanding their cold Behaviour, their haughty and unpleafing Air, they yet are excellent Friends, if they declare themselves such; and we perceive that what was confidered among the French as a fincere Attachment is a mere Ceremonial or Custom; and, if I may be allowed to make Use of an old Proverb, a Saddle for all Horses.

On the other Hand, an Englishman, who was never out of his native Country, fancies it to be the only Region where Intrepidity is found. He imagines that there is no Man in other Kingdoms who is fearless at the Approach of Death; because he does not hear that there are People in Paris, Vienna, and Amsterdam, who, grown weary of Life, put an End to all their Sorrows by a Rope or a Razor. But if this Man, who is so strongly prejudiced in Favour of his own Country, travels some Years into the different Parts of Europe, he will soon change his Opinion. He will find, at last, that there are brave Vol. V.

Men in all Nations; and that he gave the Name of Intrepidity to a Frenzy which is pernicious, not only to those whom it attacks, but likewise to Society.

It is therefore by a just Comparison between the Manners and Customs of Nations, that we are able to fettle their true Merit. That Man, who is acquainted with but one Nation, approves of an hundred ridiculous Practices, which he condemns, as foon as he has familiarised himself with other Countries. It is not furprifing that a Spaniard, brought up in the Center of Gallicia, should pay a superstitious Worship to St. James. All Persons about him do the fame. He fees his Relations, his Friends, his Countrymen, devote themselves to that pretended Saint, from whom they expect the greatest Succours; and he does not know that there are any Perfons in the World who think after a different To overcome Prejudices fo strong as those imbibed by him, a superior Genius is required; and even with this it would be extremely difficult for him to be made fenfible of his Mistake. How many would have been great Men, had they been Natives of London or Paris! and who never made a Figure for Want of their receiving some foreign Aid, but, by their residing for ever in the Center of Liston or Madrid, were confined in the gloomy Labyrinths of Ignorance and Superstition.

Learned Men of the first Class have been obliged, for a great Part of their Knowledge, to that which they had acquired of the Manners and Customs of foreign Countries. When the modern Philosophers attempted to discover the Truth, they made great Use of the Hints which learned Travellers had furnished them with. Locke and Bayle made great Advantage of them; the former, utter-

ly to destroy the witty but chimerical System of innate Ideas; and the latter to pull off the fatal Vail of Prejudices, and to destroy Superstition, so silly, and at the same Time so dangerous to Mankind. Des Cartes, Gassendi, and even Sir Isaac Newton himself, in a Word all the able Naturalists, have received great Lights from the Knowledge they had of the Manners of different Nations; and this has been of frequent Service to them, either in Experiments, or in their Inquiries into the different Tempers and hidden Causes of the human Passions.

If we examine all the Sciences in particular, it will be found, that in every one of them a Knowledge of the Maxims and Way of Thinking of different Nations is of great Advantage; but Morality and Politics feem to require that Knowledge most. How would it be possible for a Man to know the Extent and Limits of Probity, Virtue, and Decorum, if he was wholly unacquainted with foreign Nations? How esteemed soever our Fellow-Citizens may be, it is certain that they are not possessed of all the moral Virtues. Every Country feems to have some Qualities that are peculiar to it, and which must be fought for in it. They are never found in so exalted a Degree of Perfection in other Should a Person who was desirous of knowing the Height to which Politeness may be carried, continue an hundred Years at Constantinople, he would never learn fo much in that Particular, as he would during fix Months Abode in Paris. Would not that Man, who was defirous of feeing Frankness and Sincerity in their utmost Purity, do very wrong, should he travel to Italy for that Purpose? No, Switzerland is the Place to find this. Would he habituate himself to a free, bold, L 2 and

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and yet judicious Way of Thinking; fuch as teaches Men to give Magistrates and Ecclesiastics their Due, without permitting the former to become Tyrants, and the latter Inquisitors; should Portugal be visited for this Purpose? Surely not, but England. In fine, to know the whole Extent of Kindness, Simplicity, Candour, Humility, Charity, and the rest of the Virtues, ought we to refide in Rome, or even in any Part of Europe? No, excellent Brito; to fee these Virtues in their full Lustre, we must cross the Seas, and go to feek them in Pensilvania, the happy Colony of the Quakers, whence they one Time or other may take their Flight. Who can tell what Revolutions may happen in the Hearts of Men; fuch aftonishing ones are brought about daily, and fuch furprifing Changes are wrought in them, that no Person can assure us that the best regulated and most virtuous Societies will long continue such. It is much the fame with Kingdoms as with private Persons. A Man should be prudent and virtuous during thirty Years, and afterwards lofe, in an Instant, the Fruit of so much Probity. In how calm and unruffled a State did the Swifs Cantons live during a long Course of Years! and vet afterwards, abandoning themselves to a Spirit of Frenzy, they took up Arms, and endeavoured to cut one another's Throats.

If the Knowledge of the Manners of various Nations, worthy Brito, is of Use to those who apply themselves to the Study of Morality, it is still more to such as are obliged to search into the hidden Mysteries of Politics. A Prince can never attempt any mighty Atchievements, nor can even live undisturbed in his Dominions, if he is not acquainted with the Character, the Maxims, and Customs of the Nations who surround him. The Instant he

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has instructed himself in these Particulars, he knows how he ought to behave towards them. "I have " nothing to fear, would be fay, from such a Na-" tion *. They love Peace much more than War. "They are the Dupes of Priests, and divided into feveral States, who have their particular In-" weeks. The + other is obliged, through Necel-" fity, to court my Alliance. They have no Mo-" ney, their Provinces are unpeopled, their Inhabitants detest War, or are too indolent to love " to take up Arms. I consequently need not be " under any Apprehensions from this People, since "they are unable to atchieve any confiderable En-terprise, unless affisted by me. There are three " more Nations, with whom I may have fome " Contests. The first ‡ is extremely numerous. "Their Troops are inured to military Discipline, " but then they are poor; and it is well known " that War cannot be carried on without Money. " Even in a second Campaign, if they are not suc-" coured, they are forced to strike up a Peace, or " to fultain a confiderable Loss. The second Peo-" ple | are rich, and Sovereigns of the Sea. " inveterate Hatred has made them, in all Ages, " my Enemy. They are valiant, intrepid, and I " might justly stand in Fear of them, were they " as strong in Soldiers, as in Sailors. As their " greatest Strength confists in the Number of their " Ships, and that these cannot atchieve any great " Land-Conquests, I need not be under any Ap-" prehensions from them. So long as they arm " against me, without any Allies, they will be one of my inconsiderable Enemies; but they

^{*} The Italians. + The Spaniards. 1 The Germans. 1 The English.

" may be of infinite Prejudice to me, should they " be united with others, in which Case they would " become my most formidable Enemy. The third " Nation *, though less splendid and august than "the last mentioned, might nevertheless annoy me " more. They are immensely rich; they alone are able to defray the Expences of a long War, and " to pay the Armies of all their Allies. They are " possessed of some strong Holds in the Neighbour-" hood of my Dominions, and may, at the very "Opening of a Campaign, incamp on my Fron-" tiers. It is therefore my Interest that I should be " at Peace with them; and this it will be very eafy " for me to be. As Trade is their only Object; " as they do not endeavour to make useles Con-" quests; and that, contented with preserving their " Dominions, and confequently having no Defire to enlarge hem, they will always endeavour to tive in Peace with me, provided I do not make any Attempts that may raise their Fears, or en-"deavour to incroach upon their Rights."

In this Manner, dear Brito, a Monarch, who is well skilled in the Opinions, the Maxims, and Interests of foreign Nations, draws such Consequences from them, as may heighten the Glory and Feticity of his People. A Minister of State is as much obliged to excel in this Science as a Prince, and for the same Reasons. It ought likewise to be the Study of a General: For how would it be possible for him to take certain Measures, which are sometimes so necessary to give Success to a military Project, if he is not acquainted with the Genius of the People against whom he is to sight? I will suppose that Marshal Villars, having not long before commanded an Army of twenty thousand Men,

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in Flanders, against the Duke of Marlborough, who had headed the like Number of Englishmen, should fet out for the Frontiers of Portugal, to command twelve thousand French, who were to fight thirty thousand Portuguese. If he were intirely unacquainted with the Nation, and were to judge of them from the Idea he had formed to himself of the English, his first Care would doubtless be to look out for some strong and advantageous Spot, in order to incamp his Forces. He would furround it with strong Lines, and make Use of all the Art posfible, to compensate for his Want of Men. I met, would he fay, with formidable Enemies in Flanders, against whom, though I fought with equal Numbers, I was obliged to exert the utmost Efforts of Prudence and Caution. How much ought I to be upon my Guard on this Occasion? Dost thou imagine, dear Brito, that he would make the like Reflections, was he well acquainted with the Portuguese? Methinks, on the contrary, he would fay, Courage, my brave Frenchmen! Let us march out of the unwedging Linn Had we but half these Numbers, our Enemies would not dare to face us. That Nation is more used to bandle a Rosary than a Gun. At this Instant, whilft we are reflecting on the Honour we are going to atchieve, they are thinking only of recommending them-Jelves to the Prayers of their Priests. Our whole Thoughts are employed in considering how we may best keep our Ranks close, and march in good Order, whilft they are singing Anthems in Honour of St. Anthony of Padua. You are going to engage, my brave Lads, a Parcel of Monks in a military Dress. I do not doubt, good Friend Brito, but that a speedy Victory would attend upon fuch a Speech, which would have been formed from the Knowledge he had of the Genius and Manners of the People he was marching against.

If those Personages who command Armies, or preside at the Helm, are obliged, whenever they are defirous of making any confiderable Atchievement, to be acquainted with the Genius of various Nations, fuch Historians as endeavour to immortalize the Actions of Heroes ought to excel in that Science. How would it be possible for them to unravel the Intrigues of Courts; the Motions, the Steps, in a Word, the feveral Actions of different Nations; if they are ignorant of the Caufes which fet the Springs a going? What a pitiful Hiftory would that Author write, who should attempt to exhibit the 'Tranfactions, in France, under Henry III. and Henry IV. without being acquainted with the Genius and Manners of the Spaniards? Tacitus, Saluft, Livy, and fuch-like Historians, would not have given us such perfect Pieces, had they not been thorough Masters of the feveral Subjects they wrote about. They had made it their Study to get a perfect Knowledge of the Genius of the Persons and Nations, whose Ac-Julius Cæsar was a complete tions they described. Matter of the Customs, Dispositions and Manners of the Gauls, as is evident from his Commentaries; indeed, this Knowledge was equally useful to him as a General, an Historian, and as a private Man.

Farewel, worthy Brito; reap all the Advantages possible by thy Travels. May thy Life be contented and happy, and the God of thy Fathers indulge

thee the greatest Prosperity.

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LETTER CLXXXV.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conftantinople.

Was speaking, dear Isaac, to one of my Friends, concerning the Calamities in which several great Men have been involved, though the Favour they were indulged by their Sovereigns seemed to have promised them the most undisturbed Felicity. To these Restections I added some others; and I observed to my Friend in Question, that most Heroes, who had selt the severest Rigours of Fortune, after having been raised to the most exalted Heights, had signalized themselves by the important Services done their Monarchs.

Without fearthing into the most remote Antiquity for Instances of this Truth, I shall go no farther back than the fixth Century. I therein find, excellent Isaac, that Justinian owed his Glory and Grandeur to Belifarius. This General re-united, to the Empire, Africa, which had been fevered from it above an hundred Years; overturned the Monarchy of the Vandals; beat the Persians several Times; conquered Italy; and, laftly, preferred the Duty and Fidelity he owed his Sovereign to the Advantage of being declared King of the Goths, in the Room of Vitiges, whom he had taken Prifoner. But what a Reward did he meet with for all these Atchievements? They could not secure poor Belifarius from the most cruel Fate. He was falsely charged with having engaged in a Conspiracy againt gainst Justinian; and this Prince, forgetting all the Services he had received from that great Man, divested him of all his Possessions, and removed him from his several Employments; and, after having been so cruel as to order his Eyes to be put out, caused him to be imprisoned in a Tower, which still goes by this Hero's Name, and is built on the Sea-Shore, between the Castle of the seven Towers and the great Seraglio. Thou thyself hadst a Sight of this Prison, before thy Departure from Constan-

tinople.

Some Authors have writ that Belifarius, being afterwards fet at Liberty, was reduced to fo very indigent a State, that, to prevent his being starved, he was forced to beg about the Streets. However, this Incident does not agree with an ancient Tradition, which prevailed during a long Series of Years in Greece, and which is current even at this Day. Thou haft heard many of the Inhabitants. of Constantinople declare, that Belisarius died in the Tower where he was confined; and that, holding a little Bag from his Window, as is usual for Prifoners to do, he cried aloud to the Passengers, a Half-penny for poor Belifarius, the Loss of whose Eye-Sight was owing to Envy, not to Guilt. This Greek Tradition is confirmed by some Authors; and here follows the Expression, in Latin, employed by one of them, as it occurs at prefent to my Memory: Date Eicemofynam Belifario, quem Fortuna, non Virtus, dereliquit; That is, "Your "Charity to Belifarius, whom Fortune, not Vir-tue, abandoned." Without spending Time, good Isaac, in inquiring which of these two Opinions ought to be received, it is fufficient, in order to raife our Surprise at the Misfortunes which have befallen the greatest Men, to consider Belifarius cither begging about the Streets of Constantinople, or imprisoned

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imprisoned in the most cruel Manner. Was not this a very strange fort of a Recompence for the glorious Services he had done his Sovereign? And ought not the sad Fate of this great General to stand as a Monument, that nothing is so frail and inconstant as the Favour of Princes?

How great a Field is opened for the Reflections of Philosophers, to see Men sacrifice their Ease, their Rest, their Lives, their Possessions, and even fometimes their Honour, for ungrateful Sovereigns, who are so frantic as to imagine, that the Happiness of serving them is Reward sufficient for the most important Services. If Courtiers, to acquire Virtue, would take but a fourth Part of the Pains they give themselves in order to obtain one Glance from their Sovereign, what a Number of Sages would be found in all Courts? I am certain, excellent Isaac, that Socrates did not toil so much, to raise himself above human Nature, as a Courtier does, in order to gain the Favour of his Sovereign. To how many Menaces must he submit before this? How many Mortifications must be fuffer? How many Affronts must be put up? In short, how often is he under Apprehensions of losing, in an Instant, the Fruit of all his Labours? How many People have fuffered in the most groveling Manner, during their whole Lives, without having had the Felicity of obtaining fo much as a fingle Look; and who, after passing three Fourths of the Day in an Anti-Chamber, have spent their expiring Moments in regreting the ill Use they had made of their Time? In this Manner their Lives have been one continued Scene of Hurry; and they have been for ever tortured, either by the Stings of Authority, or by those of Repentance.

Of all Follies, dear Isaac, a passionate Fondness for Courts seems, to me, the most incurable. We

feldom see Courtiers prudent enough to own their Errors, even though they have Time to profit by that Knowledge. Their Wishes to rise to Grandeur never leave them, till they have lost all Hopes of ob-

taining them.

A Circumstance which seems to me very surprifing is, that the frequent Difgrace of Favourites should not serve as a Memento to those who thirst fo eagerly after the like Honours. Is it not furprifing, that the fatal Catastrophes of most of those whose Rank is envied should not lessen the Number of their Rivals? We meet, in all Ages, with as remarkable Incidents concerning the Reverfes of Fortune, as that which befel Belifarius. The Difgrace of Admiral de Bonivet; the tragical End of the Duke and Cardinal of Guife; those of the Earl of Effex, of the Marshals Biron and d'Ancre; Fouquet's Imprisonment, and that of le Blanc; the Banishment of Ripperda and Chauvelin; in a Word, the fad Fate of fo many other Courtiers, who fell Victims to their Ambition, would, one should naturally imagine, confiderably lessen the Number of Court-Idolaters?

I am sensible, excellent Isaac, that some of the Favourites and Ministers above mentioned owed their Missortunes to their ill Conduct, rather than to the ill Usage of Fortune. It may be affirmed, that Marshal Biron would have been always happy, had he never sorfeited the Allegiance he owed his Prince; and that the Duke of Guise and the Earl of Essex reduced their Sovereigns to the Necessity of punishing them. But though I owned that these Favourites were really guilty, I yet may be allowed to affert, that they had done their Country and their Sovereign, such signal Services, that they seem to have merited some Indulgence. However, I would except the Duke of Guise, it being absolutely neces-

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fary that he should die, in order to preserve the Life of Henry III. With respect to Marshal Biron and the Earl of Essex, had their Sovereigns been capable of entertaining as warm Sentiments of Friendship and Gratitude, as private Persons, I do not doubt but that the former would have been pardoned by Henry IV. and the latter by Queen Elizabeth. Both had done such signal Services, that methinks their Lives ought to have been spared, and their Punishment ought to have been only Banishment or a Prison. But Princes never pardon; or if they ever do, it is on such hard Conditions as is equivalent to Hatred.

The Clemency of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex is very much applauded: But what was this Clemency? To merit it, a Hero must have been obliged to demean himself; to own himself guilty at the same Time that he, perhaps, was innocent; and to beg, in the most ignominious Manner, for the Continuance of a Life which he would have dishonoured. Had Queen Elizabeth been capable of entertaining a true Friendship, in this Case, being fatisfied with his Justification (fince the Majesty of the Throne could not claim any more) she would not have infifted upon his making a Confession which the knew to be extremely fevere. But the thought as a Queen, and was intirely unfusceptible of those tender Returns, those easy and gentle Reconciliations with which Friendship inspires the Bosoms of Persons in a lower Station. Her Heart was susceptible only of fome Emotions of Pity; and those were stiffed by Pride, Vanity, and Presumption, Pasfions ever inseparable from a Throne.

Henry IV. had much greater Reason to consent to sign the Warrant for Marshal Biron's Execution, than Queen Elizabeth to consent to that of the Earl of Essex. If ever any Monarch in the World

possessed the Qualities that form the true Friend, it was that illustrious King. Nevertheless, if we examine this Matter strictly, we must be obliged to own that, considering the great Services which Marshal Biron had done him, the Punishment would have been severe enough, had he been imprisoned for Life, in the Bastile; so far ought he to have been from sentencing, to a Scassold, a General and Friend, to whom he partly owed his mighty Atchievements.

It is incomprehensible to me, worthy Isaac, how a Man, how exasperated soever he may be against another, can yet prevail upon himself to deliver him up to an Executioner, after having lived in the most friendly Manner with him during his whole Life; after having given him numberless Assurances of the most fincere Friendship, and opened to him the most sacred Recesses of his Heart. Would not one imagine, that he should feel the most tender Emotions, even when his Anger was at its highest Pitch? Among private Men, the Ties formed by Friendship are as strong as those made by Blood. I figure to myself, dear Isaac, that had'ft thou offended me in the most cruel Manner, and it was in my Power to fentence thee to die, I should first fpeak thus to myself: " Is it possible for thee to take away the Life of a Man for whom thou once had'ft fo fincere an Affection? Isaac Onis, " indeed, has offended thee; and dashed, in an Inse stant, all the good Actions he ever did in thy " Favour; but still it is the same Isaac Onis, who " once did thee fuch important Services. To " him thou wholly owest Part of the Knowledge " thou hast acquired. It is he with whom thou " used'ft to discourse with so much Pleasure; whose " Conversation was so delightful to thee, and whose Letters gave thee so much Joy. Will ec it 1

" it be possible for thee ever to forget this? Wilt " thou be fwayed by the Impulses of thy Anger? "Wilt thou give Orders for putting to Death a " Man, whose Life was always so dear to thee? "Surely no: It will be impossible for thee ever to " confent that Isaac should be put to Death. In " Case he did offend thee, remember that he once was as kind as Man could be. Generofity, the " Duties of Friendship, and those I owe myself, all " call upon me to pardon his late Errors. Let him " live; let him own, if this be possible, how un-" worthy he is of a Friend like me. However, I " ought so to order Matters, as not to give him a " farther Opportunity of doing me any more Pre-" judice. I cannot say whether he will ever be my " Friend again, and acknowledge fincerely his Er-" ror. Till I shall have the most convincing Proofs " of this, I will order him to go at a Distance from " me, and fly the Places where I inhabit." In this Manner, good Isaac, might Friendship and Gratitude oblige all to act, who are guided by the Impulses which those virtuous Passions inspire. But they do not produce as kind Effects in the Breasts of Princes. The Tenderness of their Dispositions is not fo great, as to make them obliterate an Offence. merely to taste the Pleasure and Satisfaction of pardoning it.

Those, who are desirous of seeking for true Friendship, ought to go at a great Distance from Courts. Let us leave to mistaken Courtiers the Folly of building their Hopes on the Calmness of the most tempestuous Sea. Let us laugh, Friend Isaac, at their idle Projects, their Fears, their Defires, their Torments; and bewail the unhappy, and often satal End, of so many fruitless Cares. Nothing can afford so pleasing an Amusement to a Philosopher, as to reslect on the tumultuous Life

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of Courtiers; but nothing can affect fo strongly a thinking Man, as to see how far human Nature is

degraded, by those who idolize Fortune.

Was it left to my Option, excellent Isaac, to live in the most lonely Forests, or to pass my Days in Royal Palaces, I should chuse the Brute Creation for my Companions rather than Courtiers. I should be permitted, at least, to live in Deserts without Constraint. I should not fear that a Bear, to usurp the Command of my Cottage, would accuse me, to a Lion, of Difrespect. A Stag, after having brouzed in my Garden, and lived upon my Possessions, would not be so base as to censure my Conduct; find Fault with every Step I had taken; and diffuse a deadly Venom over my most innocent Actions. How common is it for Courtiers to blacken those, at whose Houses they daily dine, the Instant they are come from them; and that in the View of pleafing some other Persons whom they slander the very first Opportunity they have for so doing? Calumny is the same to Courts as Extent is to Matter; it forms the Effence of it. A Courtier implies a Perfon who is ever prepared to inveigh against those who want to get into the good Graces of the Prince. His Praises are so many Affronts; and if he happens to praise any Person, such Praise never fails to be a Satyr on some body else.

The greatest Advantage, excellent Isaac, I should reap, in preferring Forests to Courts, would be, my not being obliged to blush, every Instant, at my being forced to approve of such Follies, unjust Actions, and Cruelties, as I could not forbear condemning in my own Mind. What Man, if he has ever so little Regard for Truth, can submit to such Meannesses? Nevertheless, these are the Engines by which Courtiers compass all their Ends. It is by Dint of Meditation and Study, that a Philosopher acquires

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Learning and Wisdom: But a Person, who devotes himself to a Court, has no other Way of rising to Greatness, than by Dissimulation, Flattery, Falshood, Persidy, and Treachery. But what Qualities, what Employments are these for Persons who have yet some Ideas of Reason and Equity left in them! What cruel Pangs of Remorse must they see!

Enjoy thy Health, Friend Isaac; live contented and happy; and always suppress in thee a Desire of living in Courts.

London, the

LETTER CLXXXVI.

Is AAC ONIS, formerly a Rabbi in Conflantinople, to AARON MONCECA.

THE Doctors and Philosophers, excellent Monceca, among the Jews and Nazarenes, as well as the Mahammedans, are greatly divided in Opinion, whether Angels have Bodies. A great Number of Rabbi's imagine they have Bodies composed of a subtile Fire; and they confirm their Assertion from a Passage of the Royal Psalmist, who, speaking of the Angels, says, that the Servants of God are a burning Fire *. Some other learned Israelites, among whom Philo holds a distinguished Rank, maintain, that Angels are incorporeal Spirits, who do not partake, like Mankind, of a Nature half rational, and half irrational; and that they are Intelligences

and Forms abstracted from all Matter, and refembling

Unity *.

The Nazarene Divines differ as much as the Jews. Origen (a), St. Ambrose (b), Basil (c), Justin (d), Psellus (e), Lactantius (f), &c. declare that Angels are composed of a Substance extremely fluid and light. St. Austin, that exalted Genius, revered not only by the Nazarenes, but also by the Philosophers, feems very much inclined to favour that Opinion. I dare not determine, fays that learned Man, whether Spirits are invested with a Body formed of fubtile Air (g). He favours this Opinion still more The Devils, fays he, have Bodies in another Place. of a dense, gross, and moist Air, as some learned Men have afferted. Some famous Authors pretend, that Angels are Beings merely spiritual. Dionystus the Areopagite, Athanasius (h), St. Chrysostom (i), Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas (k), and almost all the Nazarene Divines who wrote in this Age, declare in Favour of this Opinion.

The Mahommedans are not better agreed, on this Subject, than the Jews and Nazarenes. Several of their Musti's call in the Authority of the Koran, to prove the Materiality of the Bodies of Angels. They instance the Spot which the Angel Raphael made in the Moon, by touching it with one of his Wings: But some sew Doctors explain this Passage

* Philo Jud. de Mundo, Page 101.

(a) Origen. Lib. de Princ. (b) Ambros. de Arcâ Noé, Cap. IV. (c) Basil. de Spir. Sancto, Cap. XVI. (d) Justin. Mart. in Apol. I. (e) Psellus de Dæmon. Page 173. (f) Lactant. de Divin. Instit. Lib. II. (g) August. de Civit. Dei, Lib. XI. Cap. XXIII. (b) Athan. de comm. Essent. Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. (i) Chrysost. Homil. II. in Genes. (k) Thom. Aquin. Summæ I. II. Dist. XII.

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after an allegorical Manner, and will not have it explained in the ordinary Sense. Amurath ben Choucala, in his Commentary on the Sonna (1), says, that, the Angels having been created by a divine Blast, as were the Sons of Men, there cannot be any Thing material in them, as there is nothing so in the Essence of

the Souls of Men.

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Some Nazarene Writers would have introduced a Medium, to which might have been referred those various Opinions about which Divines of different Communions are divided. Gregory (m) and Joan. Damascenus (n) write, that Angels seem corporeal with respect to God, and incorporeal in Comparifon of Mankind. But this Opinion is ridiculous; for there cannot be any Dissimilitude between one Spirit and another; as it cannot be, that a material Thing, how delicate foever its Contexture may be, can ever be looked upon as spiritual, and be without Extension. And indeed the System of those well-meaning Doctors has not been much followed; and it does not appear that many People have taken the Pains to refute or defend it: And therefore I will content myfelf with examining the Reasons of the two preceding Opinions, according to one of which, Angels are corporeal; and, according to the other, fpiritual.

Those, who declare celestial Intelligences to be invested with material Bodies, suppose a Difference between good and bad Angels. They say that the latter, before their Fall, had Bodies composed of simple, impassible Air, which, since their committing Sin, is grown more gross and condensed, by

(m) Gregor. Magnus, Moral. Lib. II. Page 203.

(n) Joann. Damascen. Lib. II. Page 189.

⁽¹⁾ This is a Book which contains Mahommedan Traditions, which they have in the greatest Reverence.

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the contagious Proximity of terrestrial Things; by which Means it is become gross, dense, and capable of being tortured by Fire, which, before, could not act upon it, because of its extreme Thin-By this System, they easily explain in what Manner the Flames of a material Fire are able to make an Impression on celestial Beings, which had been created impassible. But these Doctors fall into an insuperable Difficulty; since in Case it was necessary, in order for Fire to act on the bad Angels, that the fubtile Matter, which composed their Bodies should become more dense by Reason of the Vapours of the Earth, how would it be possible for the Soul of Man, being folely spiritual, to be af-fected by this material Fire? In order for this, it must necessarily be made, (in the same Manner as the Bodies of Angels) either of a thin Air, which may become more dense by means of the Vapours of the Earth, or else it must be formed of a terrestrial Substance. But, in both these Suppositions, Man's Soul will necessarily be found material; which Opinion is exploded in general, not only by all the Nazarenes, but even by a great Number of Philosophers of different Religions.

Most Divines who afferted the Materiality of Angels, scarcely believed that the Soul of Man was of a spiritual Nature. For if the Soul is able to exist, can taste Joy, Pleasure, Pain, Good and Evil, without the Assistance of Matter, what Occasion is there to ascribe Bodies to Angels? To this it may perhaps be answered, that as God bestowed Bodies upon all his Creatures, he therefore did not think proper to deprive the Angels of them: But this is a very weak Argument. The Reason why the Deity indulged every Creature a material Body, was, because all of them, the Angels excepted, were to live and exist in Matter. Now, it was

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necessary for them all to be invested with the Matter in Question. But Angels have no other Residence than that of the Deity; they surround his Throne, and are perpetual Spectators of his Glory, Greatness, Power, and Immensity. They stand in no need of Substance, and taste no Pleasure but in the Contemplation of the Wonders of their Creator. Of what Use, therefore, can a material Body be to them? Of none: And the Soul alone performs all its Functions. As God never does any thing in vain, is it not plain, that he did not give material Bodies to celestial Substances, since they were not to make any Use of them?

Thefe, good Monceca, are very good Arguments against such as do not suppose the Bodies of Angels to be intirely spiritual. However, they defend their Opinions by Objections which are of very great Weight. You argue, fay they, for the Immateriality of Angels, from that of the Soul of Man. We deny its being spiritual, and believe that nothing is absolutely immaterial but God. Why do you think it inipossible for God to grant, to a certain Number of thin, material Particles, the Faculty of thinking, and of thinking to endless Ages? Before you prove the Necejfity of Angels being spiritual, prove that of the Soul. Sherv us that God could not cause Matter to be endued with a moving Faculty, and with Knowledge. this be proved, we must justly deny, not only that Angels are not invested with Bodies, but even that their Souls are not material.

Thou knowest, excellent Monceca, how knotty this Question is, whether it was possible for God to endue Matter with Thought? The greatest Philosophers have been very much divided about this Opinion. A great Number of Rabbi's believe the Soul to be immortal, and at the same Time material. The Nazarene Divines, in this Age, reject unani-

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moully this Opinion; but it was formerly strongly afferted * by some famous Writers and Divines among them. It is, therefore, not so easy, as may be imagined at first Sight, to prove the Uselessiness of the material Body of Angels; fince it must be first shewn, in the most demonstrable Manner, that there are other Beings, beside God, who are spiritual, and which cannot be material, even though the Deity should interpose its Power. For all reafonable Philosophers are agreed, that the Soul can be immaterial, if God will have it fuch; fince no greater Power is required, in a spiritual Being, to create another spiritual Being, than to form a material one out of nothing; and, after having formed it, to indue it with Senfation and Perception; but those affert, that God, if he pleases, can indue Matter with Understanding; and that no greater Power is required to give a material Being Thought, than to make a spiritual Substance act on a material one. Therefore, before a Person should attempt to prove, that it would be absolutely impossible for Angels to have Bodies, and even material Souls, he must demonstrate clearly what are the Causes which confine his Power.

It is not under philosophical Reasonings only, that those who assert the Materiality of celestial Intelligences shelter themselves; the Jewish and Nazarene Doctors who adhere to that Opinion have wherewithal to authorise it in their sacred Books. The Rabbi's, to confirm their Opinion, instance several corporeal Apparitions of Angels, as those with whom Abraham, Lot, and Tobit were savoured; and they cite the Example of Jacob, with whom an Angel wrestled a whole Night. Besides their Authorities, which are common both to Jews and Nazarenes,

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^{*} Animam nibil esse, si Corpus non sit. Tertul. de A-nima, Cab. VII.

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the latter have feveral others, borrowed from the Books which are wholly peculiar to them. fancy these are less demonstrative than they imagine; because their Opponents deny that the Bodies with which those Angels were invested, at the Time of their Appearance, were the true Bodies of the celeflial Appearances. They fay that they had borrowed them, to fulfil the Orders of the Deity. There is a very strong Reason to favour this Opinion. If Angels were always invefted with a Body equally strong, dense, and as weighty as that of Men, how would it be possible for them to vanish away in an Instant? In Proportion as they should rise into the middle Region of the Air, they ought to vanish infenfibly from the Eyes of those who had seen them. unless they shrouded themselves in a Cloud, in which Case there would still remain several Difficulties. But, if we suppose they were invested only with a Body of collected Air, it was easy for them to expand, in an Instant, that fluid Matter.

If I might be allowed, excellent Monceca, to give my Thoughts in an Affair of fo difficult and abstruse a Nature, I would own to thee, it is my Opinion, that celestial Intelligences purely spiritual never assumed a real Body. The Example of Jacob does not invalidate my Opinion; for, in like Manner as the Soul, which is but a pure Spirit, acts on the Body by the Power of God, in like Manner a spiritual Angel might have acted during a whole Night on Jacob's Body. With respect to the material Substance which appeared to the Eyes of that Patriarch, it existed only in his Imagination by the Power of the Deity, who, in the general Order established by him, not having thought proper that the Soul should have any clear and precise Idea of a Spirit, fo long as it is confined in the Body, repre-

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sents it to him always under the Image of a Creature of which it has a distinct Idea.

In rejecting, dear Aaron, the material Vehicles which some affirm that Angels have frequently asfumed, we intirely ruin a great Number of monstrous Chimeras, confectated under the Name of Religion, not only by the Fews, but even by the Christians. We intirely dettroy the ridiculous Syftem of Incubus's and Succubus's, the Existence of which has been afferted by fo many different Writers. We prove evidently, that as Devils are pure and fimple Spirits, it is impossible they should beget material Creatures, or engage in a criminal Correfpondence with Men and Women: And we shew the Falfity of all the Fictions which have been writ concerning Fauns, Sylvans, Satyrs, Nymphs, Lamiæ, Lemures, Manes, Larvæ and Penates, which are pretended to have been Demons who affumed the different Bodies of those false Deities.

The Instant a Person denies totally the Possibility of the Union of Matter with the spiritual Essence of Angels, there remains, in order to excuse the filly, chimerical Tales of Men begotten by Devils, but one fingle Objection, equally false and impious; but it is fo ridiculous and abfurd, that it would be triffing to fay any Thing more about it. I therefore shall content myself with only observing, that as God did not allow the Devil the Power of over-turning, in this Manner, the most constant Laws of Nature, he has, by that very Means, prevented the horrid Disorders that would have ensued from thence. And indeed, what Confusion would there be in the Universe, if Devils could be able, daily, to get three or four thousand Girls in Europe with Child? If the ridiculous Opinion which allows them fuch a Power was once to be approved by the most learned Men, Proflitutes would be over-joyed to have always have some Excuse ready at Hand, to extenuate their lewd Conduct; and thus the several Children of Cupid would be deemed the Offspring of the Devil.

I shall end my Letter, excellent Monceca, with a Paffage I met with in the Author of Count de Gabalis, who refutes, in a humourous, though at the fame Time folid Manner, this ridiculous Opinion. Our Divines (says I to him *) are far from afferting, that the Devil is the Father of all those Children who have a clandestine Birth. They acknowledge that the Devil is a Spirit, and therefore cannot procreate. Gregory of Nyssa (replied the Count) does not say fo; he declaring that Devils multiply among one another, in the same Manner as Mankind. I am not of his Opinion, (replied I) but it so happens, say our Divines, that-Do not tell us (interrupted the Count) To not tell us what they say; for then you would tell us a very filthy Thing. How abominable an Evasion have they found there! It is surprising that they should all have declared in Favour of this filthy Opinion; and delight in posting, infnarlingly, Hobgoblins, to take Advantage of the idle Bestiality of Anchorets; and to give Birth, on a sudden, to miraculous Men, whose illustrious Memory they blacken by so shameful an Origin. Do they call this Philosophising? Is it worthy the Divine Being to fay, that he has so much Complaifance for the Devils as to favour these abominable Practices; to indulge them the Gift of Procreation, which he has refused to great Saints; and to reward these Obscenities, by creating, for these Embryos of Iniquity, Souls more heroic than for those which were formed in the Chastity of a lawful Marriage? Is it worthy of Religion to jay, as your Divines do, that the Devil is able, by this detestable Artifice, to impregnate a Virgin during Sleep, without fullying ber Virginity?

^{*} Count de Gabalis, Conclusion of the IV. Conversation.
Vol. V. M This

This is as absurd as the Story which Thomas Aquinas—relates in his fixth Quodlibet, of a Girl lying with her Father, whom he supposes to have met with the like Adventure, as some heretical Rabbi's declare to have befallen the Daughter of Jeremiah, whom they declare to have conceived the famed Cabalist Ben Syrach, by her going into the Bath after the Prophet.—If I might presume to interrupt you (says I to him) I would confess, to appease you, that it were to be wished that our Divines had hit upon some Solution which might have been less offensive to chaste Ears, or had strongly denied the Incidents on which this Question is grounded.

I shall not add, dear Monceca, to this Passage. It shews perfectly well the Absurdity of the pretended Copulation of Incubus's and Succubus's with human Creatures, and plainly evinces how requisite it is, both for the Sake of Modesty and Religion, ab-

folutely to deny the Possibility of it.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Monceca; may thy Life be undisturbed with Missortunes; and may the God of thy Fathers favour thee with an uninterrupted Series of Prosperity.

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LETTER CLXXXVII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

HE English, excellent Isaac, inveigh very justly against the vast Number of foreign Authors, who take upon them to write the History of England, and

and are so impertinent as to give their Opinions concerning the Laws and Customs of that Kingdom. A Friend of mine, a Whig, spoke to me the other Day, with great Indignation, concerning those wretched Compilers, who presume to write the History of a Nation with which they are utterly unacquainted; and who, scribbling only in the fordid View of getting Money, dishonour the Majesty of History, and, at the same Time, the Glory of those great Men, whom they undertake to speak of. Observe, said he to me, how shamefully King William, King George I. the Duke of Marlborough, and several other illustrious Personages, are degraded in the wretched Continuation of Rapin Thoyras. Can any Thing be more borrid, or more apt to shock good Men, than to see the greatest Heroes exposed to the venal Pen of a spendthrift, needy Vagabond, and of some vagrant, dissolute Priests, who would have been starved in their native Country; and who endeavour to get a Subsistence in another Kingdom, by the impertinent Rhap-sodies they print in them? If all their Readers were well enough skilled in the Affairs of Europe, to perceive the Ridicule and Absurdity of those pitiful Performances, the English would be less exasperated against such contemptible Libels, which they have the Insolence to call Histories. But how many Men in France, Germany, Italy, &c. form a Judgment of the Merit of English Heroes, only by the lying Compositions of those insolent Rhapsodists? For, how contemptible foever they be, there nevertheless are Persons So weak, or so prepossessed, as to adopt their Writings as accurate and judicious. Should a superstitious Italian be asked, what Idea he had formed to himself of King William III. I am certain that he will chuse to take it from the different Pictures which the Continuators of Rapin have given of him, how odious foever they may be, rather than from what Rapin him-M 2

self and several other wise and disinterested Historians

Say of that Prince.

The Circumstance, which is most odious with respect to those Libels, is, that they are not only printed by our best and most faithful Allies, but even authorised by Privileges or LICENCES from them; and that this feeming Approbation raises very highly the Opinion of them in the Minds of Foreigners, who do not know that these LICENCES are granted only with respect to the Impression, and no Ways with regard to the Subject or Matter of the Book. We know very well, that the Liberty of the Press ought not to be invaded in any Manner, and we are the most zealous to protect it. But we do not think that the Excess of it ought to be tolerated in this Manner; and are of Opinion, that the Government shews too great Lenity on that Occasion. Indeed its Lenity is daily abused: Witness the Writings relating to Count de Bonneval with the Marquis de Prie, which, though expressly forbid by the States of Holland, were yet lately reprinted at the Hague under the fallacious Title of Count de Bonneval's Memoirs, by the Favour of a Head and Tail, newly added to serve them as a Passport. Thus the most trifling Pieces are vended every-where with Impunity.

Persons of Learning and good Sense commonly censure, with Vigour and Contempt, the idle and stat Sequels of Don Quixot and, the Comical Romance, &c. But would it not be a more laudable Task for them to point out the Evils which these monstrous and satyrical Histories occasion, and revenge, in this Manner, the Memory of a great Number of Heroes, who deserve Apologists infinitely more than Cervantes and Scarron? I am highly exasperated against the Literati of France, when I restect that they will undertake a Task, in Favour of the Author of a Romance, which they result to do for a samous General, and an illustrious Monarch.

If any Person should take it into his Head to print, in Paris, a Work in which the Works of Homer or Virgil should be attacked, immediately thirty zealous Writers would rife up against him, to vindicate the Reputation of those renowned Poets: But there are daily fold publicly, in that City, fifty trifling and impertinent Pieces, in which all the great Men of these later Ages are treated with the utmost Infolence; and yet no Person makes the least Complaint about it. So far from it, many purchase and read the Books in Question; and even some are so wrong-headed as to approve of them, grounding their Judgment on the Silence of good Writers. If the Books in Question, fay these Persons, were so trifling as you pretend them to be, they would have been severely censured before this Time; but, fince nothing has yet been written against them, they doubtless are approved by Persons of Abilities, and confequently we have no Reason Such commonly is the Way of to contemn them. reasoning of such as form a superficial Judgment of Things, and from the Opinions of other People; a false and ill-grounded Way of reasoning, which ought to be strongly refuted by the truly learned. When they neglest to do this, their Condust merits the greatest Blame; fince any Person who permits false and dangerous Opinions to spread, and that at a Time when it was in his Power to prevent it, neglects the public Welfare; is a bad Citizen; and forgets what he owes to himself and bis Fellow-creatures.

I do not know, Friend Isaac, what thou mayest think of the Complaints made by this Englishman, but I myself could not forbear acquiescing with his Opinion. As History is the facred Depositum of the Actions of illustrious Personages, it is an unpardonable Crime to offer to violate it, by blending Truth with Falshood; and no Pretence can excuse so guilty an Action. Though a Writer should be an Enemy

nemy to him whose History he writes, it is no less incumbent on him not to alter, in any Manner, the Incidents told by him. Great Men are equally related to all Nations, and are Citizens of the World, because of the Honour they do to human Nature. A German has a Right to be exasperated against a Frenchman who offers to despoil the Duke of Marlhorough of his Glory; and a Spaniard against an Englishman who refuses Marshal Villars the Elogiums he deserves.

It were to be wished, for the Advantage of History, as well as of those who study it, that such Writers as devote themselves to it would consider themselves as Members of the Common-wealth of Learning; that they would forget, in their affuming this Character, their Country; and that they would have no other Idea, in writing, than that of instructing Persons of Worth, of immortalizing laudable Actions, and of making Guilt odious and contemptible. But few Authors propose to themselves fo noble and laudable an Object, the greatest Part of them being prompted to write from felf-interested Motives. One fells his Pen to an avaricious Bookfeller, who will not allow him to introduce any Particulars into a Book, except fuch as may please a Nation among whom he defigns to vend it. Another writes to favour the Hatred of a Party, from whom he expects fome Recompence; and, for that Reason, stuffs his Books with nothing but the most fatyrical Declamations. Hence we fee that controverfial Works, in general, are fallacious and illusory Accounts, rather than a plain and fimple Relation of certain Incidents. No Historian, who was a Jesuit, was ever able to do strict Justice to the Merit of several Protestant Heroes; and such among them as boaft the greatest Impartiality could not forbear blending their Applauses with some odious

dious Restrictions. The Jansenist Writers, not excepting the most renowned among them, could not prevail with themselves to applaud certain Molinists, who merited the Esteem of the whole World. To conclude, the Protestants have but too many Authors among them, who are ever ready to censure, without the least Examination, the Conduct of all who

profess the Romish Religion.

Some Writers, base Flatterers of a Prince whose Subjects they are born, write Romances, which they dedicate to him, as being the History of his glorious Actions; and the proud Sovereign feldom fails to swallow the Bait which is held out to him. His Vanity makes him imagine, that he is truly possessed of the Virtues which are lavished so liberally upon him; and that he really atchieved the feveral Enterprises which are ascribed to him, though he was no Ways concerned in them. He rewards chearfully, and with the utmost Munificence, these false Encomiums which are bestowed upon him; and this extravagant Generofity gives Rife to an hundred Historians, who take up their Pens in no other View, but to take Advantage of the Vanity of a Man who pays fo largely for the Falsities which are bestowed upon him.

It is no Wonder, excellent Isaac, that the Number of good Historians, in these latter Ages, should be so very scarce. Besides the singular Qualities required in those who can be excellent, it is scarce possible that such should appear with Impunity. Poor Truth, which is in every body's Mouth, and which all Men pretend to seek, is cruelly persecuted. Whenever a Writer is desirous of unfolding Incidents, and transmitting them to Posterity, in their genuine Light, he never fails to make himself a great Number of formidable Enemies. If he is desirous of leading a calm, undisturbed Life, he must

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refolve to disguise certain Incidents; and, even then, it will be a very difficult Task for him to please Multitudes; every Party examining, with a critical Eye, whether he inclines to their Opponents. It sometimes happens, that, by his flattering every one, he is generally hated. What a Number of Authors does this strike at, who are justly punished, not only for not daring to say what they knew, but even for say-

ing the direct contrary?

The Division of the various Sects which prevail in Europe is not the greatest Obstacle which those Historians meet with, who would write with Truth and Impartiality. Such Princes as imagine it is their Duty to undertake the Defence of their Ancestors, and imagine that they themselves are insulted when the Memory of their Ancestors is attacked, are the most formidable Scourges to Historians. A Frenchman trembles the Instant he writes upon certain Subjects. An ambiguous Word, a too forcible Expression, or a Syllable misplaced, may cause him to be confined in the Bastile during the Remainder of his Days. An Historian ought to fet, in his Study, the Busts of Tacitus and Suetonius, to prompt him to discover, in Imitation of those generous Romans, the most hidden Springs of the Politics employed in the Reigns, the History of which he attempts to write: But, instead of this, he adorns them with the Plans of those Castles where State-Prisoners are confined, as a perpetual Memento to him, not to take too great Liberties with his Pen. A German Author is, in the present Case, laid under the same Restrictions as a Frenchman; the Princes on the other Side of the Rhine being as jealous of their Authority as those on this Side of it. In Italy, Portugal, and Spain, the Monarchs are not only to be dreaded, but likewife the Inquisition. In England, where one would imagine that a Writer runs no

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Danger in speaking his Thoughts, he yet runs great Hazards, and feldom offends one of the Parties with Impunity. If a Man does not bring himself in Danger of losing his Liberty or his Life, for writing his Thoughts, he at least disturbs his Repose, and makes a great Number of Enemies, who eagerly grasp at every Opportunity they can meet with, in order to molest, and, if possible, ruin him. In Holland, Hunger, Thirst and Want have the same Effect on Foreigners who fet up for Writers in that Country, as Fear on Authors in other Regions. On one Hand, an apostate Monk, who comes to Amsterdam or the Hague, to excite the Charity of his new Brethren, and obtain a Florin a Week more from the Confistory he belongs to, writes an hundred Falsities against the Papists, and blindly adopts the grossest Falfities vented against them. Every Thing suits his Purpose, provided it will but swell his Book, and give the World an Opinion, that he bears a mortal Hatred to the Religion he abandoned. On the other Hand, some Jesuit, or Molinist Priest, after appearing in the United Provinces in a Lay Habit, and with a Sword by his Side, acts the Part of a Spy for the Advantage of his Brethren, and publishes the most inveterate Pieces writ by them against the Protestants, or flanders them abominably in some wretched Rhapfody of his own composing. He is paid for this Purpose; and it would be impossible for him to fublish, did he not daily publish such Falsities. poor Creature of a Lacquey publishes, in Holland, Memoirs of the Regency, during the Minority of Lewis XV*; and a trifling Physician republishes them under the Title of The Life of the Duke of Orleans, in order to affift a Money-craving Bookfeller, in making the Public purchase these Falsities

^{*} See Journal Literaire, Tom. XIII. Page 4:1.

a fecond and third Time. To expect therefore, dear Isaac, that an able Historian should ever be found among fuch Scribblers, is to imagine that the Meffiah should arise in the Japanese Nation. The one is as probable as the other. So far ought we then to flatter ourselves with the Hopes that such a Miracle should be wrought, we ought rather to fear, that the pernicious Books of the Scribblers in Question will dishonour and totally destroy the Majesty of

History.

These pitiful Writers seem to be lost to all Sense of Shame. As they are prompted to write merely from a venal Spirit, there is nothing they will not fcruple to advance, whenever they imagine it may be of some Advantage to them. If they once get it into their Heads, that it will be possible for them to obtain some slender Pension from a Monarch, they instantly take up the Pen, applaud at random the most trifling Particulars, and rashly condemn such as are most laudable. If this be not sufficient, after having vainly applauded the Prince, they will be fo mean as to flatter his Officers and Ministers; and if, unhappily for the Common-wealth of Learning, this groveling Conduct will not raise them to the wished-for Height, they will not scruple to dedicate their Works to some Clerk of the Treasury, or Valet-de-chambre. The impudent Pride of some of these pitiful Writers is still more shocking than their greedy Thirst of Gain; for some of them, intirely regardless of the Contempt in which they are held by the Public, are yet so bold as to censure the most illustrious Writers. How infolently have twenty wretched Scribblers spoke of Bayle, whose Writings they had scarce Capacity enough to understand?

Now I am speaking of such low Writers as have endeavoured to blacken their Memory, I will take Notice of an impertinent Circumstance I observed

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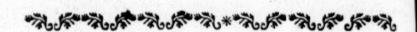
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some Time since in Moreri. Thou knowest that this Priest, who had got a little Tincture of History, compiled an historical Work, of very little Value, in an alphabetical order; and which some Persons of Learning and Abilities have vainly endeavoured to correct and improve. Here follow the Terms in which he speaks of the illustrious Thuanus, the wifest and most impartial Historian France has to Thuanus, fays he *, who favoured the boast of. Calvinists, &c. Can any Thing be so shocking, as to see a great Personage so odiously slandered? For, fpite of Moreri's Infinuations, it is univerfally known that Thuanus lived and died a Papist. It is plain from Moreri's Expressions, that he endeavours to infinuate, that the fagacious Historian in Question was a Protestant in his Heart, and that the only Reason for his writing certain Things was his having a Tendency to the Protestant Religion. How unhappy, excellent Isaac, is the Fate of illustrious Men and famous Historians! Whenever they presume to speak the Truth, a thousand horrid Slanders are invented, to lessen the Authority of the Incidents related by them. Perfons, who ought never to mention them but with the utmost Veneration, dare to explain their Intentions, and guess the Motives which prompted them to act. What a Confusion is there in the Republic of Letters? Shall Morer i prefume to censure and calumniate Thuanus? O Tempora! O Mores! Ought we to wonder after this, that the whole School of the Jesuits should have exclaimed, and exclaim every Day, against this great Man; that Jurieu should have published an odious Book against the renowned Arnaud; and that the last mentioned should have writ another still more criminal against the Prince and Princess

of Orange, when they were raised to the British Throne? It is the Fate of great Men to be attacked by pitiful Writers. One would be apt to imagine, that this was a Circumstance essential to their Glory; and I do not think that any of them has escaped paying Tribute to Envy and Malice.

Enjoy thy Health, excellent Isaac; live contented and happy; and never suffer thyself to be over-reached by the fallacious Power of Slanderers.

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LETTER CLXXXVIII.

AARON MONCECA to JACOB BRITO.

DINBURGH, excellent Brito, whither I have been arrived fome Days, is a spacious City, and pretty well built. Its Deftiny is like that of all Capital Cities, which is not the Residence of the Monarch; instead of increasing, it is scarce posfible for it not to fall from its former Grandeur. The whole Kingdom of Scotland feels the Prejudice which its Union with England has done it; and the Scots frequently have Cause to reflect, how different it is for a Country to be governed by its own Sovereigns, or reduced to the Rank of a Province. It cost the English infinite Pains, and almost endless Toils, before they could intirely fubject the Scots: For this Nation, haughty, valiant, warlike, and jealous of its Rights, submitted with Regret to a foreign Power; and were ever ready to shake off a Yoke,

Yoke, which they imagined the English intended

to lay upon their Necks.

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Few Revolutions have happened in England but the Scotch have had a Share in them. They generally declared in Favour of the Party contrary to that which the English espoused; or, if they did favour it, it was seldom with the Consent of the whole Nation. There always remained a considerable Number of Malecontents, who were ever ready to engage in any Attempts against the Government: And in this Rank we may include the greatest Part

of those called Highlanders.

The Scotch are divided into two different Sorts of People, who differ almost totally in their Manners, Customs, and even Language. The Gentlemen, and the Inhabitants of the Towns and Low Lands, speak English. They are polite, and at the same Time haughty. They are endued with Genius, fludy the Sciences, and are Lovers of the polite Arts. They perhaps are not possessed of all the Virtues of the English, but then they have not their Defects. The Highlanders speak a Language called Gachlet. which is common to them with the Irish. Several of them wear yellow Shirts, and lead a Life very much refembling that of Savages. They were formerly vastly prone to Insurrections. Doubtless their Dispositions are not changed; but it is infinitely less easy for them to rebel. King William found Means to build feveral Fortresses in the midst of their Mountains. He was the first Monarch who subjected them; and this was not one of the easiest Enterprises which that illustrious Prince completed. These Citadels, which the English have built in the Mountains, did not strengthen their Power so much in Scotland, as the Union of the Scotch Parliament with that of England. Thou perhaps mayest not be displeased,

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displeased, worthy Brito, to hear some of the chief

Circumstances of that Union.

There were formerly, in this Kingdom, Estates General, like those who affemble in London, and who assume the Title of Parliaments. The Estates used to regulate the Affairs of Scotland, and had the fame Authority over their own Country as the English have over theirs. The English, in Queen Anne's Reign, formed the Defign of uniting England with Scotland; and, in that Manner, to form of them one State, governed by one and the fame Parliament. It was no easy Matter to put this Project in Execution, and yet they at last compassed their Ends. They represented to the Scotch, that the Union would be of Advantage to the two Kingdoms; and that a certain and stated Conjunction between them, by Bands that should be eternal, would endue them with greater Strength, to refull their common Enemies; and indeed it was natural enough to suppose, that the mutual Interest both of England and Scotland required that Union. Spite of the vigorous Opposition made by a great Number of able Scotchmen, who judged in a different Manner; and by the Aid of a great many more, who were won over, either by Persuasion or Interest; the English took a proper Opportunity of Times and Seasons, and, at last, solemnly united the Scotch Parliament to that of England.

By this Union, they allowed Seats in the new Parliament thus united, only to a very small Number of Scotch Members, whilst all those belonging to England were received into it, and preserved their Seats as before. This considerable Disparity, with regard to the Members of the English and Scotch, gives the former a Certainty of having a Plurality of Voices, and so makes them absolute Masters of all Debates. And indeed it was not till after their having conquered

conquered a great many Difficulties, that this Union was intirely completed and settled. At first, several Parties were formed among the Scotch. Some, upon Pretence of their being instanced with a true Zeal for their Country, would have the Proposals of the English intirely rejected. Others consented to receive them, but required the Number of the Scotch Members to be unlimited; and that all those who had a Right of Sitting in the Scotch Parliament should likewise have the Privilege to sit in that of England. But the English made an artful Use of all these Divisions, and caused them to be subservient to obtain their Ends; and, after several Debates, and some slight Contests, the Union of the two Kingdoms was resolved upon, and cemented for ever.

If the Scotch, worthy Brito, have suffered some little Inconveniencies by the Loss of their Privileges, they have gained, on the other Hand, a great many Advantages, which they never would have enjoyed, had they always formed a separate, and, as it were, a foreign Nation from England. How many Times would they have been exposed to the Fury of Civil Wars, either foreign or domestic: To speak only of those in Question, is not a Division between two Nations, subject to the same Monarch, necessarily

attended with the most fatal Consequences?

The Authors of the Continuation of the History of Rapin de Thoyras have well enough described the different Emotions which disturbed Scotland during this Union. But then, as is usual with them, they abandon themselves to their enthusiastic Spirit of Controversy; and nothing can be more insolent and seditious than their Resections. "To procure that Peace, and that Increase of Power, say they *, it

^{*} Rapin Thoyras's History of England continued from the Accession of King George I. Tom. XII. Page 106.

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was not necessary that Scotland should be in a worse Condition than Ireland, which, notwith-" flanding its being conquered, has yet preferved " its Parliament. It was enough that this King-"dom should bind itself by a solemn and irrevoca-" ble Act never to acknowledge any other King but him who should sway the English Scepter. " All that was added to this effential Clause was over-shooting this Mark, which the English ought only to have aimed at; and ferved to no other Purpose than to degrade Scotland, and to make it, " in Proportion to the Government, as dependent on England as Britany is on France. As fo small a Number of Scotch Members, added to fo great a Number of those of England, were one Day to " compose the British Parliament, where all Things were to be decided by a Plurality of Voices, did " not this give the English a Certainty of succeeding in all their Measures? Did not the following " Clause, repeated at almost every Article, Unless the Parliament of Great Britain should think proce per to make some Alterations in it, give up all the "Rights, Customs, and Privileges of the Scotch in-" to the Hands of the English? The odious Re-" striction to fixteen Scotch Peers, who were allowed Seats in the Parliament of Great Britain, at the " fame Time that no English Peer was excluded " from it; the Subordination of the Admiralty of " Scotland to the Lord High-Admiral of England; the Change in the Weights and Measures; the "Subjection as to the Manner of levying of Taxes, " and to the same Kind of Taxes; did these contribute to fecure the Peace and increase the Power? or fnew, in distinct Characters, the Superiority and Sovereignty of England? After all, it was but just that those, who had fold their King, se should one Day punish themselves, by selling their n a

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Sovereignty and their Independence. I protest that it is in no ill View I have laid down these several Reslections, which belong to the Province of an Historian. I am even persuaded, and wish sincerely it were possible for me to persuade those who imagine themselves aggrieved, that it is more advantageous for them that what is done should remain on its present Foot, than to attempt to change it, even though they should be certain of Success."

Is this, worthy Brito, writing with the Dignity and Impartiality required in Hiftory? And could the Author of a defamatory Libel make Use of other Expressions? Can any Thing be more injurious to a Nation than the following Paffage: After all, it was but just that those, who had fold their King, should one Day punish themselves, by selling their Sovereignty and their Independence. It must be owned, that the English Government is very indulgent, or rather very much of a philosophic Cast, to let such insolent Asfertions pass unpunished! In Paris, the Magistrates sentence daily to the Flames Books whose only Guilt is their containing some Opinions that are a little too free, or which describe, in lively Touches, the Confequences and Effects of Superfition. In London, the Government will not condescend to take Notice of a Parcel of defamatory Libels written against it; and punish the Authors of them no otherwife than by Contempt and Oblivion. But possibly fuch an Indulgence is faulty, as it is an Encouragement to Slanderers.

Nothing can be so whimsical, and at the same Time impertinent, as the Protestation made by the Writers in Question, viz. Of their having no ill View in making these Restections; and their wishing sincerely that those, who imagine themselves aggrieved, may not attempt to recover their Rights. It must be confessed

that

that this is an excellent Maxim, in order to incline the Minds of People to the Love of Peace and Tranquillity, to reproach them, in fo sharp and injurious a Manner, with their Submission to the Laws. And is not this feditious Exhortation to Obedience perfeetly well calculated to dispose them to it? To prove the Difinterestedness and Impartiality of these pretended Historians, we need but read the following Passage: " If ever People had a Right to take " up Arms, it was the Scotch on that Occasion, when the Affair was either for them to continue, " or to cease to be, a particular People; that is, " the Bufiness was the losing their Sovereignty, " their Rights, their Honour, and their Religion; " a Loss, to which the Allegiance they owed their " Monarchs could not oblige them; much less that " which they owed to a Parliament, vifibly and no-" toriously proved to have little Zeal for their Coun-" try, and conniving with those who endeavoured " to raife themselves by demeaning and weakening " it. Their Right, their Force, and the Circum-" stances which made them still more formidable " than they, in Reality, were, were known. They contented themselves with complaining; and with " proving, in due Form, that their Complaints were " justly grounded. Those, who are accustomed to " arbitrary Power, may perhaps fay, that the Eng-" lift, who are directed by other Principles, cannot, " without condemning themselves, forbear owning, " that this People did more than their Duty, and " that they would not have been fo tractable in the " like Circumstances."

Methinks, dear Brito, that a Writer could not have declared more expressly, that the Scotch did wrong in not taking up Arms against their Sovereign; and that, in Pursuance of the Maxims of the English, they ought still to take up Arms. Could

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an Italian Jesuit, who had wrote in Rome the Continuation of Rapin's History of England, at the Command of the Pretender, have writ otherwise? How unhappy is it for such Persons, as have not Knowledge enough to distinguish a scalinguish Libel from a true and candid History, to lose their Time in reading such Pieces as the libellous Continuation in question? That Work must necessarily fill the Minds of a great Number of Persons with salse Ideas, when they blindly give Credit to all the Falsities contained in them, and are seduced by the pitiful Ressections

of those wretched Scribblers.

I have often spoke to thee, worthy Brito, as well as to Isaac Onis, of this Continuation of the History of England, because that every Time I had Recourse to it I found new Errors in it. Some of these shew fuch extreme Ignorance, that we can scarce believe the Authors could have been guilty of them even after our reading them; and to give thee a Specimen of this, I shall only point out one Passage in which these accurate Geographers say, that a Ship cannot pass through the Streights of Gibraltar, without being exposed to the Cannon of that Fortress. Person must be very ignorant, not to know the Breadth of these Streights; and a great Novice in Gunnery, to fancy that a Cannon-ball can reach from Side to Side of those Streights. But the greateft Defect in it, and that which renders it absolutely contemptible, is his notorious Partiality: And the least Reflection on this Circumstance will shew, how dangerous it is to permit all Persons indiscriminately to engage in writing History. This Book will posfibly not do much Harm in England; fince, not to mention that most Persons of a polite Education know what is true in the Incidents themselves, and that few of the common People understand French, Mr. Tindal, the English Translator of Rapin, has not

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not shewn so little Judgment as to translate the

Rhapfody of his infipid Compilers.

To return to the Scotch, Friend Brito: Presbyterianism, that is, Nazarenism, established much after the fame Manner as among the Genevans and Dutch, is the prevailing Religion in Scotland. The Worship of the Church of England is established only in England and Ireland, and confequently there are no Prelates in Scotland. Pastors, who are simply fuch, take Care of the Churches in the latter Kingdom. In 1604, James I. forced the Scotch to receive the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of England: And even obliged them to admit of Bishops, fpite of the Opposition made by the Presbyterian Ministers, who abhor as much the English Prelates, as the Jesuits do the Prelates of the Gallican Church, who have not admitted the Constitution. novation brought afterwards great Calamities on England, Scotland, and Ireland. During these Troubles and Divisions, the Presbyterian Religion got the Upper-hand in Scotland; the Prelates were turned out, and Things reverted to their former Situation, and have continued so ever fince that Time.

The Literati among the Scotch are blended, in the Commonwealth of Letters, with the English. they write in the same Language, no Distinction is made between an Author who writes at Edinburgh, and another who writes in London. They are confidered in the same Light with two Frenchmen, one of whom should write at Paris, and the other at Lyons. Since the Union of the two Kingdoms, the Scotch have a Right to share in the Glory of Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Locke, and Dr. Clarke; in like Manner as a Native of Languedoc enjoys his Share in the Fame of Boileau, Mallebranche, and other renowned Parifians. They nevertheless have had several great Men, who belong immediately to them; and and besides the famous Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who, for his personal Merit and his Writings, and among others for his noble History of the Reformation of the Church of England, was raised to the episcopal See of Salifbury, and whom I lately mentioned to thee, fpeaking of his History of his own Times *; I shall content myself with hinting at the famous Buchanan, Preceptor to James VI, King of Scotland, a most artful Politician, a great Historian, and an excellent Poet. In the last mentioned Character, we, and the rest of the Christian Societies, are obliged to him, for having given us a beautiful Translation, in Latin Verse, of all David's Psalms. This Composition endears, in the highest Degree, his Memory to all Persons of Learning, except the Friars, who find themselves painted but too strongly to the Life in his other Latin Poems, a Circumstance which their violent Persecutions did but too much authorize. History of Scotland, writ in beautiful Latin Prose, is an excellent Work, with Submission to the Facobites, who cannot pardon the Freedom with which he describes the gay Life of the blessed Mary Stuart. And as to his Dialogue concerning the Right of Sovereignty in Scotland, it has displeased none but such as were born Slaves to arbitrary Power, and the fiery Afferters of paffive Obedience.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Brito; may thy Life be contented and propitious. I shall return soon to Paris, and will not write to thee till I shall have got

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* See Letter CLX.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

ISAAC ONIS, a Caraite, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople, to AARON MON-CECA.

EGYPT, worthy Monceca, has been, in all Ages, the Center of Superstition; and, of all the Heathens, none have carried the Folly and Extravagance of Idolatry to such a Height as the ancient

Egyptians.

After the Nazarene Religion had destroyed, in this Country, the ignominious Worship of Idols, there still remained many Customs which were repugnant to Reason. The Religion in Question could not extirpate the Love the Egyptians had for judicial Astrology, their blind Belief in the chimerical Predictions of Empirics, and the Dread of certain Effects of Nature, which the Vulgar consider as so many Prodigies. So far from it, this Religion adopted these ridiculous and criminal Superstitions; and they are now but too much in Vogue among the Egyptians.

The Religion of Mohammed, which succeeded that of the Nazarenes, has given fresh Vigour to these Errors. The Turks, who are naturally pretty superstitious, are very fond of Soothsayers and Soothsaying in particular; and there is no City in the World in which there are so many Persons who pretend to foretel Things to come, as in Grand Cai-

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ro. Some pretend to discover the most hidden Secrets by the Help of the Planets. Others, among whom there are unhappily but too many of our Brethren, imagine they perceive, in the Cabala, the most infallible Methods to discover the most hidden Things. A great many others set up for Interpreters of Dreams, pretending to be as well versed in this vain idle Science as the ancient Chaldeans. In short, many Persons boast their possessing the deadly Art of commanding over Devils, and of being able, by their Means, to foretel any Thing they are de-

firous of knowing.

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All these pretended Prophets, good Monceca, are fo many Cheats and Impostors, whose only Aim is to deceive the Public, by the Help of certain Words which they themselves do not understand; and of fome odd wry Faces, which make a strong Impresfion on the Minds of Fools and Madmen. A true Philosopher, to shew evidently the Falsity of their Predictions, need but apply the following Argument. As God has referved to himself alone the Knowledge of Things to come, and as none but himself can know them, it is contrary to the Essence of all Creatures, of what Species foever, to be able to discover Futurity, without an immediate Revelation of the Deity, which I prove thus; Every Thing that must befal Mankind, depends on the Liberty which God has indulged them, and he only is able to know the Use they will make of it. If the Use which they ought to make of it was writ in the Stars, or known to the Devil, a Man would be determined, spite of himself, to follow the Course of Things as already fettled. But I would ask, whether any Man in the World is fo very filly, as to affert that Men, at the Instant of their Birth, are fo strictly bound and fo necessarily determined to certain Actions, that it is absolutely impossible for

them to do any others? I fancy there are not found, even among the most rigid Jansenists, Persons so strangely prejudiced, as to attempt to destroy so far the Power of Free-will. If we allow Mankind but ever fo little Liberty, we destroy the pretended Register of the Planets, and the Knowledge of Demons; for it is sufficient that he has the Power to determine himself, to give us a Right of concluding, that God is the only Being who knows what Course he will take. I therefore reduce my Argument, dear Monceca, and fay thus: If the Fate of Man is writ in the Planets, he consequently is not endued with any Liberty, either physical or moral; he must act in Consequence to what is writ in those Planets, A Person must therefore be strangely blinded, not to perceive the Uncertainty of the Predictions vented by the Astrologers. If the evident Reasons, by which Philosophers demonstrate the Absurdity of it, have not been able to inlighten the Minds of the common People; yet the Falsity of them (new Proofs of which are furnished daily) ought to have been of fome Service.

In declaring my Opinion thus frankly, concerning judicial Astrology and Necromancy, I cannot prevail with myself to rank the Interpreting of Dreams in the same Class. I will own, that most of those that set themselves up for Interpreters of them, are a Parcel of Impostors, who ascribe this Faculty to themselves: But I fancy there is often in our Dreams something supernatural, sthe Cause of which is undiscoverable by us. Thou, perhaps, mayest wonder, dear Monceca, to hear me affert this Opinion, which seems, at first Sight, unworthy a Philosopher. Pardon my Weakness. I have exerted my utmost Endeavours to overcome my Prejudices; I perused the best Authors, in order to meet with Arguments to destroy my Error; but all

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my Care and Study have ferved only to strengthen me in my Opinion. I will now inform thee of the Arguments which biass me on this Occasion. Thou mayest give me thy Thoughts on this Head; and I shall be obliged to thee if thou wilt affist me in discovering whether they are deceitful, and have only

the Appearance of Truth.

Authors both ancient and modern are agreed in the Distinction they have made of Dreams; and range them under two disterent Classes, the first of which contains the divine Dreams, and the second the natural. This Division has been followed equally by the heathen Philosophers, and by the few-ish as well as Nazarene Doctors. They consequently must have believed, that there are some divine Dreams which are sent us from Heaven, since they ranked them under a particular Class. This is the first Circumstance favourable to nocturnal Revelations; a Circumstance that is so much the stronger, as it has been adopted by learned Men of various Nations, and professing Religions directly opposite in their Natures.

It may be said, that Dreams have been considered, by all Men, as supernatural. The Jews cannot doubt but that there are many of that Kind. We are informed, by our sacred Books, that God revealed in a Dream, to Abimelech King of Gerar, that Sarah was Abraham's Wise*; and he foretold by the same Means, to Pharoah King of Egypt, the seven Years of Fertility, which were to be followed by seven Years of Barrenness +. That he informed Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, of the suture State of Empires, by the Vision of a Statue, the Head of which was of Gold, the Arms and Breast of Silver, the Belly and Thighs of Brass, the Legs

^{*} Gen. xx. 3-7. † Gen. xli. 1-7. Vol. V. of

of Iron, and the Feet partly Iron and partly Earth *. God employed likewise a Dream, to prevent Alexander from one Day destroying Jerusalem. phus +, the Historian of our Nation, informs us, that the Image of Jaddus appeared to this Monarch. and promised him the Conquest of the East. Alexander, some Time after this Vision, being offended at the Jews, marched out against them with a Defign to chastise them severely: But Jaddus, cloathed in his pontifical Vestments, coming out to meet him by the Command which God had given him in a Dream the Night before; and the Monarch calling to mind that this Priest was the same Perfon who had appeared to him in Macedonia, in a Dream; not only changed his Refolution, but even facrificed in the Temple, after the Jewish Manner, and granted them all the Privileges they defired.

After fuch authentic Testimonies of the Truth of divine Dreams, how can any Person pretend to assert that Heaven never reveals its Will to Men by Revelations which he favours them with during their Sleep? I know, dear Monceca, that such Jews and Nazarenes as reject celestial Dreams say, that what God has done sometimes by extraordinary Means, ought not to serve as the Foundation of a general System; that it would be absurd to establish, that there is often something supernatural in Rain, and in the Sound of Instruments, because God has sometimes sent extraordinary Floods, and that the Sound of Trumpets overthrew the Walls of Jericho; that these are particular Miracles, which have no Instrumence on the ordinary Course of Things; that

^{*} Dan. ii. 1, & 31-33. + Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. Lib. XI. Cap. viii. Page 554.

when they happen, God will condescend to disorder, by supernatural Means, the Order established by him; and that this happens so seldom, that it is strange any Person should make a Rule of it, which may authorise a chimerical Distinction; there being no Proof to shew, that all the Dreams, three or sour excepted, which have been made since Adam, are owing to other Means than that which produces the natural.

Some Free-thinkers, and several Philosophers, who are not either of the Jewish or Nazarene Belief, make much shorter Work with this Difficulty, by utterly denying the Truth of the Dreams mentioned in our divine Books. Dreams, according to the Persons in Question, arise wholly from the distinct Images impressed on the Imagination, or which are presented to it in the Day-time. Every one has Visions, according to his State and Profession; and Men are themselves the Makers of them *. A Lover has Dreams relating to his Amours, a Miser to his Treasures, an ambitious Man to his vain Honours, and a Warrior to Battles, a Counsellor to Causes, an Attorney to Declarations, a Farmer-general to Thest and Rapine, a Jansenist to

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Thus imitated.

Dreams, which delude the Mind with flitting Shades, Nor from the Temples come, nor from the Gods, But each Man forms his own; for when in Sleep The Limbs are all diffolv'd, the Mind at Reft, The Actions of the Day are wrought at Night.

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^{*} Somnia, quæ ludunt Mentes volutantibus Umbris, Nec Delubra Deum, nec ab Æthere Numina mittunt: Sed sibi quisque facit. Nam cum prostrata Sopore Urget Membra Quies, & Mens sine pondere ludit, Quicquid Luce secit, Tenebris agit. Petron. Satyr. Page 178.

Enthusiasm and Imposture, and a Jesuit to Fraud and Tyranny. It is the same with respect to Wo-The Coquet fancies the imposes upon her Lover, the Inconftant that the is getting new Admirers, the Prude that she is delivering her tedious Maxims, the Devotee that the is dallying with her Director, or flandering her Neighbours; and the Proftitute that she is revelling in Pleasures, with which she was not able to satiate herself in the Daytime. They quote the Example of Thefeus, who, being defirous of imitating Hercules, always had this Hero, in the Night-time, present to his Imagination. They mention Themistocles, who was so jealous of the Trophies of Miltiades, that the Thoughts of this tormented him even in his Sleep. They do not omit Marcellus, who often used to dream, that he

was fighting a Duel with Hannibal. But however, notwithstanding the natural Dreams of these great Men, yet this ought not to destroy the Belief of fuch as have fomething supernatural in them: Because a Thing happens, sometimes, in a certain Manner, yet it cannot be inferred from thence, but it may also sometimes happen after a different Manner. Thus, in making it for granted that the Dreams of Thefeus, of Miltiades, and Marcellus, prove that great Men have Dreams which have nothing supernatural in them, we still may be justly allowed to affert, that they also are indulged others, which, by the divine Power, foretel them Events to come. History has preserved a numberless Multitude of Incidents, related by the greatest Writers, and sometimes by the most famous Philosophers, which authorise the Reality of celestial These wonderful Dreams are not told us Dreams. by Persons of no Genius or Learning, by superstitious Monks, or by Authors of Romances; but

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by Persons whose Genius and Learning are acknow-

ledged by all the Literati.

Josephus informs us, that Archelaus, Governor of Judea, thought he saw, in Sleep, a sew Oxen eating some Ears of Wheat; and that an Essenian Jew who interpreted this Dream, foretold this Prince the Calamities in which he was afterwards involved *.

It is related by Herodotus, that, the Daughter of Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos, having dreamed that the saw her Father raised alost in the Air, where Jupiter watered him, and the Sun anointed him, the deadly Consequences proved but too evidently the Truth of this Dream; Orestes, Lieutenant of Cambyses, having given Orders some Time after, that Polycrates should be hanged on the Summit of a Mountain, where Jupiter watered and washed with Rain the Body of that Tyrant, and the Sun anointed him with his own Fat t.

Plutarch, who mentions feveral nocturnal Revelations, relates, that the Friends of Ptolomy, firnamed the Thunderer, dreamt, that Seleucus caused him to be tried before Wolves and Vultures; and that, after these blood-thirsty Jndges had past Sentence, he distributed a great Quantity of Meat to his Enemies. This Omen was soon followed by his Death, and by the intire Deseat of his Army ‡.

Tully, that supreme Genius, whose Works have been the Admiration of the Learned during so many Centuries, relates so surprising a Story, that no Person can read it but must be persuaded that there often is something in Dreams, which declare the di-

† Herodot. Histor. Lib. III. Page 180.

^{*} Joseph. Antiquit. Judaic. Lib. XVII. Cap. xv.

[†] Plut. in Opt. Quare Deus Malef. Poenam diff. Page

vine Will, and the Things that must befal us. " Two Arcadians, fays that illustrious Roman, who were Friends, being arrived in Megara, " were obliged to leave one another. One of them went and lodged at an Inn, and the other with " a Friend of his Acquaintance, at whose House " he used always to reside. The Person who lodg-" ed with his Friend, faw, in a Dream in the " Night, his Companion, who conjured him to " come to his Affistance, to fave him from the " Mafter of the Inn, who was going to murder " him. This fad Vision having awaked him, he " ftarted up in a Fright, flew out of the House, " and made the best of his Way to the Inn. How-" ever, after he had gone a confiderable Way down " the Street, he thought it would be idle to pay any Regard to Dreams, and for that Reason went back " to Bed again. He had not been long afleep, be-" fore he again faw his Friend covered with Blood " and Wounds, and befeeching him, fince he had " not thought proper to succour him whilst he was " living, to go to the Gate of the City, and stop " his Body, which the Inn-keeper, who had mur-" dered him, was carrying off in a Dung-cart. "The Arcadian, who was struck much more with this fecond Vision than he had been with the first, can to the City-Gate; presently after which he " faw the Dung-cart, and, ordering it to be stopped, " the Body was found. The Murderer was then " feized and put to Death *."

This Story is also related by Valerius Maximus †; and since several illustrious Authors have judged proper to transmit it to Posterity, I do not know what Right any Person has to look upon it as fabulous.

^{*} Cicero de Divinat. Lib. I. Page 52. † Val. Max. Lib. I. Cap. viii. Page 38.

If Incidents, affirmed by the most famous Writers, may be confidered as Impostures and Falfities, what a wide Field would this open to Scepticism? In this Case there would be nothing which we might not doubt the Truth of. I do not see any good Reason which ought to induce us to believe, that Tully intended to impose on his Readers, and attempt to make one believe a Story to which he himself gave no Credit. Persons may justly consider, as absurd, the miraculous Tales which are found in the Writings of a Friar, though the Falsity of it cannot be intirely demonstrated; such Persons have very just Reason for their Unbelief, since the Interest which the Friars have, to favour Superstition, may prompt them to invent Fictions, to which they endeavour to give an Air of Truth: But could a Roman Conful, a Philosopher, in fine, a Person of Tully's Character, be guilty of such great Weakness? Could there be any Motive which should prompt him to impose upon Mankind, and could he hope to reap any Advantage from their Credulity?

To the Dream related by this great Man I shall add that which Mahommed II. had, the Night before the Taking of Constantinople; an Account of which is found in all the Authors who have writ the Life of this Emperor. He imagined he saw an old Man of a gigantic Stature, who came down from Heaven, and put, at several Times, a Ring on each of his Fingers. Being awaked, he caused his Dream to be interpreted, when he was assured, that he should obtain the Empire of Greece. Immediately he stormed the City of Constantinople, and won that imperial City, which all his Successors have made the Place of their Residence ever

fince.

There are a great many more Incidents like to that I have related, which shew that Dreams are N 4 often

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Neapolitan Philosopher mentions several, and affirms that he himself was Witness to a Circumstance of a very extraordinary Nature. He relates that a Shepherd, being asleep in a Place at a considerable Distance from his Flock, dreamt that a Wolf was carrying off a Sheep, which he described to his Son, and bid him rise. The latter having obeyed his Father's Orders, found that the Wolf was really rearing to Pieces the very Sheep which had been

specified to him *.

I wonder, excellent Monceca, that any Person should pretend to reject the Truth of divine Dreams, after so many evident Proofs have been given of the Reality of them. To confirm the Reality of a Thing in the strongest Manner, what more can be desired than Incidents attested by great Men living in all Ages? The Ancients as well as Moderns are united in their Attestations of the Truth of several nocturnal Revelations. This must be allowed by every Person who is not an absolute Sceptic in History. There remains only one weak Objection to be urged by fuch as perfift obstinately in their Opinion, viz. to fay that Dreams, which may have been supposed to be sent from Heaven, were really produced by natural Effects, and that Chance made them true. But this Objection will be of no Force; for what may not that Person deny who is for ascribing all Things to Chance? In this Case, the most visible Actions of Providence would be looked upon as the mere Sport of Whenever Vice is punished it will be Fortune. called Chance; and the same whenever Virtue is rewarded. Should God work a Miracle to mani-

^{*} Alexander ab Alexandro, Genial. Dierum Lib. I. Cap. xvi.

Let. 190. The JEWISH SPY.

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fest his Power, this likewise will be ascribed to Chance. Nothing can be more dangerous than a System that allows too much Extent to the Concourse of second Causes, and Free-thinkers are pleased with the Words Chance and Fortune.

Farewel, dear Monceca; live contented and happy; and be speedy in thy Answer to this Letter.

Grand Cairo, the

LETTER CXC.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conftantinople.

I Shall here answer, good Isaac, the Letter thou favouredst me with concerning the Reality of divine Dreams. I am surprised that a Philosopher of thy Character, and who is so well acquainted with the most secret Springs of Superstition, should adopt so ill-grounded an Opinion, as that which supposes something supernatural in Dreams. To cure thee of thy Error, I will answer all thy Objections separately, and in the same Order in which thou hast laid them down.

Thy Opinion is first of all grounded on our sacred Books. They indeed make some Mention of supernatural Dreams, but then they speak only of a miraculous Thing, on which we ought not to ground a general Belies. They even advise us, in several Places, not to give the least Belief to Dreams *. They inform us, that nocturnal Illu-

^{*} Ecclefiaft. V. 23; & XXXIV. passimi N 5.

fions have missed Multitudes. They go farther by commanding us not to give Credit to them. You shall not have any Soothsayers, say they to us, nor pay any Regard to Dreams, and shall not employ the Art of Divination after the Manner of the Heathens. Here we have a very clear and express Command, and which, if I mistake not, plainly permits us to reject whatever may be said in Favour of the mysterious Part which is said to be contained in certain Dreams.

What thou observedest, good Isaac, with respect to some learned Men who have afferted thy Opinion, may be eafily invalidated. All eminent Men are fo far from countenancing the Reality of Supernatural Dreams, as thou pretended, that I find that feveral of the most shining Genius's, in all Ages, have opposed this Belief. Aristotle makes no Distinction between Dreams, and afcribes them all to natural Causes. He says that good People are commonly favoured with more agreeable Dreams than the wicked, because their Minds are at Ease, and they are not tortured by Remorfe *. Cicero, whose Authority thou hast cited, is, of all Philosophers, the greatest Stickler against nocturnal Revelations. He indeed produces feveral Reasons to authorise them: But he quite invalidates their Authority. The only Reason why he starts Objections to himfelf is to have the better Opportunity of establishing his System, by shewing the Falsity of such as might be objected to him. Farther, the Academies used always to manage their Disputations in Manner following; the Opinions, on both Sides, were carried as far as possible; and the Decision was not pronounced till after they had been long exTu

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Aristotel. Eth. ad Nicom. Lib. I. Cap. xiii. Page

amined. It is therefore no Ways furprifing that Tully, who was one of that Sect of Philosophers, should have instanced every Particular which might contribute to prove the Reality of supernatural Dreams. He was fenfible, that he could flew the Impossibility of this, whenever he might judge pro-To be convinced of this Truth, we need but give fome little Attention to his Arguments. " thing is fo plain, fays he, as that the Gods have " no Concern in the Dreams of Mortals. Were " they the Dispensers of them, they doubtless " would have us take Advantage of their Gifts, in order to foretel Things to come. But what Man " reaps any Benefit from his Dreams? Who is " able to understand the mysterious Sense couched " under them? Now many People consider them " as Illusions and Chimeras; and who contemn, as " weak and superstitious Persons, those who endea-" vour to interpret them? It must be confessed that " the Gods put themselves to Pains to little Purpose. "They give Counfels to Men, during their Sleep, " which they not only intirely difregard, but have " not the least Idea of them in their Memories. " Since the Deities know the most secret Thoughts " of Mortals, and whatever they ought to do to " make themselves agreeable to them; they conse-" quently cannot employ, in order to reveal to " them their Will, Dreams, which they are sen-" fible Mortals cannot comprehend, or will make " no Use of. This is such a Conduct as is intirely " repugnant to the Character and Wisdom of the " Gods *."

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Atque illud quidem perspicuum est nulla Visa Somniorum proficisci à Numine Deorum. Nostra enim Caussa Dii id facerent, ut providere sutura possemus. Quotus igitur est

After this Philosopher has shewn, by several other decisive Reasons, the Impossibility of there being fuch Things as supernatural Dreams, he at last proves, by a fingle Reflection, the Folly of those who give Credit to, and the Ignorance of fuch as pretend to explain them. Though I should even grant, fays he, (which I shall never do) the Reality of nocturnal Inspirations, yet such Inspirations would always be to no Purpose; no Person having Learning enough to explain them. To what Purpose therefore should the Gods communicate to us Counsels which we ourselves cannot comprehend, nor be instructed in by others? This would be as ridiculous in them, as it would be for some Carthaginian or Spanish Ambassadors to make a Speech in their Language to the Senate of Rome, without having an Interpreter with them *. It is here, worthy Isaac, we are to refer the two certain Axioms of Mallebranche.

est quisque, qui Somniis pareat, qui intelligat, qui meminerit? Quam multi verò qui contemnant, eamque Superstitionem
imbecilli Animi atque anilis spectent? Quid est igitur, cur
his Hominibus consulens Deus, Somniis, moneat eos, qui illa,
non modo Cura, sed ne Memoria quidem, digna ducant?
Nec enim ignorare Deus potest, qua Mente quisque sit: Nec
frustra ac sine caussa quid facere, dignum Deo est; quod abhorret etiam ab Hominis Constantia. Ita, si pleraque Somnia aut ignorantur, aut negliguntur, aut nescit boc Deus,
aut frustra Somniorum Significatione utitur. Cicero de Divinat. Lib. II. Cap. xx. Page 405.

* Vide igitur ne etiam si Divinationem tibi esse concessero, (quod nunquam faciam) neminem tamen divinum reperire possimus. Qualis autem ista Mens est Deorum, si neque ea nobis significant in Somniis, quæ ipsi per nos intelligamus: Neque ea quorum Interpretes habere possumus? Similes enim sunt Dii, si ea nobis objiciunt, quorum nec Scientiam nec extlanatorem habemus, tanquam si Pæni, aut Hispani, in Senatu nostro loquerentur sine Interprete. Cicéro de Divinat.

Lib. II. Cap. xliv. Page 420.

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The Deity never does any Thing in vain. It always acts by the simplest Methods. What can be more useless than Counsels given in Dreams, and can any Thing

be more perplexed and confounding?

To continue, dear. Isaac, the Examinations of thy Objections, I now proceed to fuch Historians as have transmitted to Posterity a great Number of Dreams, the Causes of which have been ascribed to the Deity. The Authority of these Writers, in Matters of Philosophy, is looked upon to be very infignificant. An Historian ought to relate Prodigies which are in Vogue; but it is the Business of a Naturalist to inquire, whether they are owing to the Causes to which they are commonly ascribed. Is any Person so credulous as to believe all the Miracles which are told in Livy? They are confidered as the Effect of Superstition. Nevertheless Livy. ought not to be blamed for relating them. wrote the History of a Country where those false Miracles were confidered as the most undoubted Truths. He was obliged to fuit himself to the Genius of his Fellow-Citizens. He was not required, by his Character, to enter into a philosophical Detail; and he did his Duty if he related Things in fuch a Manner, as might give his Readers an Opportunity to judge of the Truth of them. An Hiftorian, who relates a Prodigy which he himself knows to be false, and endeavours to persuade the Belief of it by far-fetched Reasons, fails in his Duty: But if he contents himself with relating simply what Mankind in general have faid of it, he ought not to be censured for it, as he only discharges his Duty. It is the Reader's Business to judge whether Mankind An Historian ought to be confiderhave mistook. ed as the Reporter of a Case in Law, and a Philosopher as the Judge of it.

As to the Learned, Friend Isaac, whom thou speakest of as Favourers of supernatural Dreams, and among whom thou rankest Alexander ab Alexandro, I confess that some have been carried away by the Prejudices of Education; and who, far from endeavouring to inlighten the Mind, have spent their whole Lives, in tearching for Reasons to confirm them in their Errors. This is the Cafe of thy Alexander, the Disciple of Junianus Majus, a Neapolitan. He informs us that, from his early Youth, he used to see flocking daily to his Master, whose Profession was to interpret Dreams, a Multitude of People of all Ranks and Conditions, whose Dreams he always interpreted in so clear and exact a Manner, that many, by his Counfels, escaped the greatest Misfortunes and preserved their Lives *. I would submit to thy Consideration, dear Isaac, whether the Authority of this Alexander, who had been so prejudiced from his Youth, in Favour of an Opinion which he never examined afterwards, ought to be of any Weight? To convince thee intirely how little it ought to be credited by a Philosopher, I would but observe to thee, that this Junianus Majus, whose vast Erudition is so much cried up by his Pupil, was called a Cheat and an Impostor by less prejudiced Literati +.

+ Avorum quoque Memorić, hanc in Italia vanissime prositebutur Artem Junianus Majus. Mart. del Rio Disquisit. Magicar. Lib. IV. Cap. III. Quast. II. Page 2:18.

^{*} Ad eum memini, cum Puer adbuc essem, & ad capiendum Ingenii Cultum frequens apud eum ventitarem, quotidie Somniantium Turbam, Homines que celebri Famâ & multi Nominis, de Somniis consultum venisse. Declarabat definiebatque ille, non breviter aut subobscurè. . . Multi quoque, illius Monitu, Vitæ Interitum, nonnunquam Animi Asgritudines, vitarunt. Alexander ab Alexandro, Genial. Dierum, Lib. I. Cap. XI. Page 82.

If thou wouldest but reflect, worthy Isaac, on the impertinent Stuff which has been writ by fome learned Men, who were persuaded of the Reality of supernatural Dreams, thou wilt be obliged either to pity their Error, or to censure their Impudence: fome of them having written such absurd Things. that one would naturally conclude, that they wanted to take Advantage of the Weakness of Mankind, rather than to inform them of their real Sentiments. Calius Rhodiginus afferts with the utmost Gravity*, that those who sleep in Sheep-skins are favoured with true Dreams; and gives us a long Differtation on this Subject, in which he explains the Belief of what the Heathens entertained with respect to Skins of certain Animals. these Reflections highly worthy a Philosopher! It must be confessed, that, if they are true, the Deity is particularly fond of revealing himself to Butchers and Shepherds; and that Princes, and all Persons of a certain Rank, are deprived of his Revelations. Pliny indeed has applied a Remedy to this Inconvenience; he informing us, that the Stone called by the Greeks Eumeces, which resembles a Flint, being laid under a Person's Head when afleep, occasions true Visions +. This Way of procuring Revelations is much more agreeable, and less offensive to the Nose, than the former, and Persons of a high Rank may make Use of it without any Reluctance. However, there still remains a Circumitance in it that is not very pleafing; fince a Person might run the Hazard of getting a Bump upon his Forehead, in Case he was to use the Stone Eumeces by Way of Boliter. And, indeed, we may

† Plin. Hift. Natur. Lib. XXXVII. Cap. X.

^{*} Cæl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiquar. Lib. XXVII. Cap. XIV. Page 507.

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fuppose that such a Person could not be permitted to lay it under a Bolster; for then, those Parts of the Deity which issue from the Flint, being stopt by a foreign Body, could not be able to penetrate into the Head; by which Means the Bolster, at most, would receive the celestial Counsels. I could almost burst, good Isaac, with laughing, when I restect on this Nonsense.

Cardan found out a Way to compensate for the Want of the miraculous Stone; he declaring that the Scriptures, laid under one's Bolfter, produce true Dreams. And, if the Scriptures are not to be had, he fays that the Books of those Doctors may be used, whom the Nazarenes call the Fathers of the Church *. As to the last mentioned Works, I could eafily suppose them to be endued with a soporific Virtue; but, in order that the Dofe might work well, it is my Opinion that the Person who was to use it, ought, before he went to Bed, to read half a Page of the Writings of St. Bernard, St. Gregory, Anselm, or others of the like Stamp. I do not wonder, dear Isaac, that Cardan should have ascribed to some Books the Faculty of procuring Dreams. He himself communicated that Faculty to his whole Family; and, indeed, any one who had the Happiness of being related to him, was fure to be inspired every Night. Had a Person been no nearer related to him, than Don Japhet of Armenia was to the Emperor Charles V. that is, in the two thousand and eighteenth Degree +, he was fure of dreaming fupernaturally, and more than a quantum sufficit. It is he who informs us of to fingular a Circum-

^{*} Cardan. de Rer. Variet. Lib. VIII. Cap. III. Page

[†] Voiez Dom Japhet d'Arménie, Comedie de Scaron.

stance *. After this can we doubt of its being authentic; and must not that Person be a strange Insidel, who should reject it as an idle Tale, unworthy a Man of Learning, and capable of bringing an Odium on all those who have writ to assert the

Reality of supernatural Dreams?

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I am of Opinion that we may very fafely rank the Dream which Mahommed II. had, the Night before the Taking of Constantinople, in the same Class with those of Cardan's Kinsmen, it appearing to be This Emperor was built on as flight a Foundation. an artful Cheat, and a Man of no Religion, who did not scruple to employ any Methods which might affift him in the Execution of his Projects. He doubtless knew very well the great Ascendant which Superstition has over the human Mind; before he gave Orders for a general Storm against Constantinople, he was extremely defirous of perfuading his Soldiers, that Heaven had promised him the Empire The Character of this Conqueror, whom all the Historians reproach with denying the Existence of God, certainly did not make him worthy of being favoured with Revelation. If Mahommed had not taken Constantinople, his Dream would have been utterly difregarded: It was Fortune only that rendered it divine; and it is that Power also who has given Credit to all those which are perpetually trumpeted about.

The pretended Interpretations made of Dreams are so uncertain, that those who set up for Interpreters of them contradict one another. A Man who had resolved to run in the Olympic Games, dreamt that he was lightly carried on a Car drawn by sour Horses. Upon consulting a Soothsayer, he

^{*} Cardan. de Rer. Variet. Lib. VIII. Cap. III. Page

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was affured, that he would win the Race by the Swiftness of his Coursers. To be still surer of the Event, the Person in Question consulted another Soothsayer, who returned him an Answer directly opposite to the former: Do not you see, says he to him, that you will be preceded by four Competitors,

since four Horses ran before you?

A Cheat, who pretended to interpret Dreams, and had settled in the Suburbs of St. German's, adjoining to Paris, told a young Man, who consulted him about a Dream in which he saw his Mistress putting a Ring on the Tip of his Finger, that he would soon marry her. But another Cheat, who lived in St. Honoré-street, assured him, that, since she had put the Ring only on the Tip of his Finger, the Match would be brought almost to a Conclusion, but that it would quite break off on a sudden. By only crossing the new Bridge in Paris, the Revelations of the Deity were directly contrary. Was not

this Man finely instructed?

It were to be wished, Friend Isaac, that all false Prophets, who serve only to increase Superstition, and trouble weak Minds, had been punished, in all Ages, with the utmost Severity. However, I would have had a certain Parish-Priest, who pretended to this Art, spared, and that for the Sake of an Artifice he employed. He was in Love with a young Country Girl, but could not hit upon any Expedient to rank her in the Number of his beloved Flock. Peggy, for fo the young Maiden was called, had been married not many Days before to Colin, who had courted her for a Twelvemonth; and the Disquietudes of the Marriage-state had not yet lessened the Violence of his Passion. This perplexed the Parish-Priest, who could not think of a Stratagem to fatiate his Defires. However, Fortune stood his Friend at a Time that he least expected it. Peggy

Let. 190. The JEWISH SPY.

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Peggy having had a Dream, and a frightful one, in which she fancied she saw a black and hideous Phantom, who stabbed her dear Spouse; she started from her Slumbers and flew to the Priest. Good Doctor, fays she, I am come to tell you a fad, fad Dream; and befeech you to inform me what I must do to save my Husband's Life. The Parish-Priest, having listened to her Dream with a grave Face, and squeezed her Hand in such a Manner as spoke the Adulterer rather than the Conjurer; I cannot, Peggy, conceal the Truth from you, fays he. Honeft Colin is threatened with a fad Calamity. I know but one Way to fave his Life. What can that Way be? replied the pretty Country-woman: Tell me what it is, and I will give you whatever you shall ask. I defire no other Reward, replied the liquorish Priest, but your Heart. Explaining himself afterwards more fully, Peggy refifted his Defire at first: But, at last, the Fear of the Danger which menaced Colin made her confent to the Proposal of the Prognosticator, something more pleafingly than Alcestes to that of the Resurrection of Admetus. And now, tays the Priest to her, I will interpret the Dream: " The Phantom " you faw is the Spirit of Contradiction, fo com-" mon in married Women, and which frequently " annoys very much the Peace of Husbands. " prevent Colin from being ever tormented with it, " be always submissive and faithful to him; and " then you need not be afraid that his Life will be " in any Danger." The Exhortation, dear Isaac, was exemplary and pastoral; and accordingly it produced the most happy Effects in Peggy's Mind. "Thank ye, good Doctor, says she, for your good " Advice. If I ever happen to be difturbed again " with bad Dreams, I will not fail to come and fee " you again, upon Condition of paying for the " Inter" Interpretation of it in the same Coin, and as cor-

" dially."

Enjoy thy Health, dear Isaac; may thy Life be propitious and happy; and do not entertain an idle Opinion with respect to the Reality of Dreams. To morrow I shall set out for Paris, and will not write till I am arrived in that City.

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LETTER CXCI.

ISAAC ONIS, a Caraite, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople, to AARON MONCECA.

THY Letter, worthy Monceca, on the Adventure of the Chinese who had been brought into France by Fouquet the Jesuit *, gave me infinite Pleasure. I discovered, in this entertaining Story, which at the same Time was so fatal to this unhappy Foreigner, the political Conduct of the Society; and I do not doubt but that the Jesuits would treat, after the same Manner, any Person who should endeavour to oppose their Designs. If it was in the Power of those reverend Fathers to imprison the Jansenists in Bicetre, and cause them to be scourged there, for the greater Glory of GOD, the Chinese would have a great Number of Companions. In Fact, it would not be very improper should all the Enthusiasts meet with the like Treatment; and it is my Opinion, that such a Remedy

^{*} See the CXLVIIth Letter.

would be much more effectual to cure them of their Folly, than the best written and most learned Disfertation. It is true, indeed, that after having scourged the Followers of Abbot Paris, to check all their Extravagancies, it would not be improper to chastise the Jesuits in the like Manner, to punish

them for their wicked Actions.

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To fay the Truth, dear Monceca, it is shameful that, in fo well governed a State as that of France, some Enthusiasts and ambitious crabbed Divines should be permitted to diffurb incessantly the public Tranquillity. I am certain, that had Fouquet, the Chinese Jesuit, been told the Disputes between the Jansenists and Molinists, he would have carried into his native Country a still more unfavourable Idea of the French. "What! (would he fay) this " People, who know so well how to scourge Stran-" gers, have not the Sense to scourge their Bonzees? "Were he to imitate the Chinese, he would change " his Method. Instead of abuting those who come " to him, he would make the Priests responsible, " not only for the ridiculous Follies which they " make People give into, but also for the Idols " which they ferve. St. Paris turns the Brain of " many Parisians. Come, Mr. Parish Priest of " St. Medard, you shall pay for your Saint, and " be heartily scourged. St. Ignatius occasions ma-" ny Troubles in the Kingdom; down with your " Breeches, reverend Fathers, you shall be heartily " scourged. If the Directors of spiritual Farces " were to be scourged after this Way, they at last " would give over." Thou knowest, dear Monceca, that the Chinese act in this Manner. Bonzees answer for all the good or evil Actions of the Idols they attend upon; and, fince they receive the Profit of the Offerings which are made them, it is but just that they should pay, in Return, for all

the Evils they occasion. It very frequently happens that a Man, who has burnt, to no Purpose, Incense before a Statue, to which he may have offered up many Sacrifices, exasperated at his having spent his Money in vain, prosecutes the Bonzees, and requires the Priest to answer for the Inattention and Disregard of the Idol; and the Prosecution is generally terminated in Fayour of the Plaintiff.

terminated in Favour of the Plaintiff. Give me Leave to put thee in Mind of what that thyself formerly wrotest to Jacob Brito, as extracted from a Voyage written by a Jesuit *: " A Chi-" nefe, who had a very fantastical and churlish "Idol, exasperated at the needless Expence he had long been at on its Account, and being unwilling to be imposed upon by so malicious a God, sum-"moned him to appear before the supreme Council of Pekin. After feveral Examinations, in which the Bonzees made the best Defence they could for " their Idol, the Idolater at last gained the Cause, "The Court, having Regard to the Petition of the " Chinese, sentenced the Idol, as useless in the "Kingdom, to perpetual Banishment. The Temof ple was demolished; and the Bonzees, who officiated at his Altar, were severely punished; proce vided, however, that they might address other courts in the Province, to compensate for the " Chastifement they had received for the Love of " the Idol in Question."

ris, resembling those of the supreme Council of Pekin, would soon restore Tranquillity to the Diocese. For sew Jansenists would devote themselves to the Service of Abbot Paris, should every one of them be forced to submit to a Scourging, every Time any Person has any Cause to complain of him. Scarce te

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would the Posteriors of the Fathers of the Oratory, of the Benedictines, and other Followers of that pretended Saint, be sufficient to receive the Lashes, which would be liberally bestowed by the mad Enthusiasts; when recovered from their Frenzy, they would complain of their having whistled, sung, danced, capered, cried, and howled, for many Years. What a Number of Rods and Thongs would those employ, who, after having made many nine Days Devotions, burnt a great Number of fine Wax Tapers, and mumbled over innumerable Anthems and Prayers, in order to be cured of their Diseases, were yet unable to obtain any Favour from the blessed Paris, who was as deaf and obstinate as the Chinese Idol?

If the Jansenists, dear Monceca, were in Danger of being ill treated, with regard to their Saint, I imagine that the Jesuits, on the other Hand, would not meet with better Usage; and that they would often be punished with great Severity. What a Number of Complaints would People bring against St. Ignatius? They would charge him with having founded an extravagantly-ambitious Society, which is calculated only to diffurb the Peace of States. Not only the Clergy would publicly inveigh against the Morality of his Followers, but even a great Number of private Persons would complain, that, after having been two Years together in his Congregations, carefully faid over his Litanies, as well as those of St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis Borgia, the bleffed Lewis of Gonzaga, and Stanislaus Kostka, their domestic Concerns continued in as unhappy a Condition as ever, and their Health in as ill a State. On Grievances of fo ferious a Nature, an Arret of the Parliament of Paris would come out, which, doing Justice to the Complainants against the Jesuits, would give Orders for their being seized, both in the College of Lewis XIV. in the Noviciate, and the House for

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the Probationers; to be afterwards conveyed to the Court of the Sorbonne, and there, in Presence of all the Doctors, to be scourged for all the Faults committed by St. Ignatius, and the rest of the Saints, &c. of the Society; whose Temples would be razed to the Ground, the Idols broke to Pieces, and the Priests driven out of the Kingdom: Provided, however, that the said Jesuits may be permitted to address the Court of Rome, to indemnify themselves for the Punishment they might have undergone for the Love of three or four Saints

who had been rashly canonized.

Methinks, dear Monceca, fuch a Decree would be of great Service to France. It would be of much more Advantage than fuch as are daily made, to suppress the Instructions of some Jansenist and Molinist Bishops, who seem to contend who shall best foment Troubles and Divisions. I likewise do not doubt, but that if the Government was to punish with Severity all the Errors and obstinate Behaviour of the Nazarene Saints, who, after having been fo much illuminated, gilded, and entertained with gay Festivals and excellent Concerts, frequently quite difregard those who have done them such important Services; I do not doubt, I fay, but they would infenfibly lose all their Credit. All the Nazarenes, in less than a Year, would address their Vows and Prayers to the Deity only. " How! would a Ca-" puchin say, shall I run the Hazard of getting two " hundred Stripes, with regard to St. Francis, who, of possibly, after having been treated in the kindest " Manner, may laugh both at the Priest and the "Supplicant? No, no, by my Froth, won't I. " will address my Prayers to Heaven only, by " which I shall secure my Shoulders." The Jesuits would speak after the same Manner, and all their Followers would foon imitate them. The Jansenists themselves, how obstinate soever they may be, would would not be so stupid as to bring a Punishment upon themselves; and if, by Chance, some of them should indulge their Enthusiasm so far, their Banishment from France, expressed by the Arret, would soon restore the Kingdom in Question to a wished-for Tranquillity; would put a Stop to all the pious Frauds employed by the Friars, and prevent their

inventing new ones daily.

Whilft I was in Germany, a Frenchman, at whose House I lodged, told me a pleasant Story to this Purpose: "There was, fays he, in a Church in a " little Town in Languedoc, a Statue, which was " faid to have formerly wrought a great Number " of Miracles. About an hundred Years ago, whe-" ther it were that his internal Virtue was evapo-" rated, or that the Spirit of the Saint who former-" ly tenanted it was weary of its. Case, and had " taken up its Residence in another, it no longer " produced a fingle Miracle, and its Worship was " greatly diminished. Scarce were burnt, in the " Course of a Year, five or fix little wax Tapers " in its Honour; and Matters had been carried for " far, that many a female Devotee used to pass ir-" reverently before it, without bending ever fo little " the Knee. And now a Friar took it into his " Head to restore the Reputation of that Image; " for which Purpose some miraculous Adventure " was necessary, which might inform the Public, " in the most conspicuous Manner, that it had lost " no Part of its ancient Power; and he pondered " in himself what kind of Disease it would be pro-" per for him to make the Statue heal. Should I " publish, fays this Master Monk very judiciously, " that the Saint cures all Difeases of the Eyes, I shall " bring upon myself the Adherents and Priests of San-" eta Lucia; and they will not fail to ofpose the " Reputation of my Image, which would leffen that VOL. V.

of theirs. Should I suppose some other Disease, I " Should be subject to the like Inconvenience. There is ce no human Indisposition but has its Physician in the " Court of Heaven. The best Thing I can therefore do will be to ascribe to my Image the Power of curbing all carnal Sensations. There indeed remains one Difficulty, which is, that those who shall come to ofce fer up their Prayers to my Saint, may, at first, imagine they have received some Favour from it. I ce perhaps lay too much Stress on the Strength of the Imagination of those who shall offer up their Prayers, as it may not perhaps produce the Effects which I bope to receive from it; so that the Credit of my

se Saint will be foon ruined.

Whilst the Friar was in this Perplexity, he called to mind that he had heard a Friend of his, " a Phylician, fay, that Camphire wore next to " the Skin, or drunk in Powder in a Liquor, would " fuppress all amorous Passions. Right! cries he, there is my Business done : I will fill my Agnus's with " Camphire. I shall give Notice that no Person will

ce be cured, except that, pursuant to the Intention of

the Saint, he shall always wear them on his Stomach; and when that will not be sufficient, and that

the Constitution will bear up against the Relic, I will prescribe the Drinking of a campbirated Liquor,

to which I will give the Name of my Saints Oil. "The Instant he had got ready a sufficient Quanti-

ty of these pretended Remedies, he went up into " the Pulpit, and raised, in his Sermon, the Credit

of St. Turpin infinitely above that of the ordi-

ary Saints. They confine themselves, cried he, ce purely to the Healing of the Diseases of the Body, but

" St. Turpin weakens and destroys the Temptations of

a the Soul.

" As no one had heard, during a long Time, of " Mr. St. Turpin, they were greatly furprifed at 66 what

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" what the Preacher faid, who, to inforce his Dif-" course the more, affured his Auditors, that he " himself had experienced what he advanced. His " pretended Cure was looked upon as a Miracle, " even to Unbelievers, who were furprifed to hear "the reverend Father Anselm, one of the smartest " Franciscans in the Kingdom, affirm that he was " unmoved when by the finest Women, as Girard " the Jesuit when with Miss Cadiere. Immediately " a numberless Multitude of Devotees flocked to " him from all Parts, in order to put a Stop to their "Temptations. One prayed that the Image of " her spiritual Director might not follow her every-" where; and that it might not trouble her in the " midst of her Prayers. Another wished that she " might be able to refift the Passion she had for the " Prior. A third begged the might have Strength " of Mind sufficient to result a young Abbe, who " had made himself so far Master of the Outworks, " that, if the Saint did not work a Miracle, in four " and twenty Hours she should be forced to capi-" tulate.

" Nor did the male Devotees flock in fewer " Numbers to implore St. Turpin's Succour. An " old Canon prayed to have Grace enough to be able " to relift the Charms of a pretty Girl, his Servant; " a Judge to withstand those of a fair young Client; " a Cit to refift the Enticements of his Wife's " Friend; and a decrepit Pealant to withstand the " impudent Advances of a smart little Chamber-

" maid, equally faithless and wanton.

" The Monk gave all the Persons in Question a " great Quantity of Agnus's, which had touched " the Saint's Head; and, when there were not Ag-" nus's fufficient, he ordered them to drink, every " Morning, three Spoonfuls of the camphirated " Liquor. The Dose did not fail to work with " some; a Circumstance which was sufficient to se give a surprising Reputation to the Relics, and to the Oil of the bleffed St. Turpin, which were 66 fought for ten Leagues round. Among those who flocked on this Occasion was a Girl about " fixteen or seventeen, beautiful, finely shaped, " having a foft and modest Air, but an exceffively ce tender Heart. Above fix Months before, a cerce tain young Man, called Peter, had found out the Secret to obtain the last Favour. His Passion was es equal to that of the Fair-one. Nevertheless, " fome Remains of Shame, or rather of Fear, still combated against him in his Mistress's Heart. She fometimes formed a Defign to break off an Engagement, which made her dread the Pains of " Hell; and commonly took that Resolution when so the affifted at the Sermon of her Parish-Priest. "But the Instant she was got home, the Sight of " Peter, and his tender Discourses, made all her " fine Projects vanish. Having heard of the mighty Miracle which St. Turpin wrought, she had 46 Recourse to him, and went for some of his Ag-" nus's. The Friar, as he put them into her Hands, of found himself struck with a deadly Shaft; and, in the midft of his Antidotes, drank copious .. Draughts of the Poison of Love. He wished of from his Heart that the Relies might not work, and foon had Reason to be satisfied; for the Ag-" nus having prevailed nothing, the Fair-one came and defired to have a Vial of the holy Oil. On the contrary, he had prepared a Liquor whose co Property was to heat, hoping that her repeated Wifits would at last be of Advantage to him. She made him feveral; and having by this means got acquainted with her by infensible Degrees; You to have come, fays he to her one Day, so often to se implore the Aid of the Saint, that the Devil of "Lust you are tortured with, must be very obstinate.
"I will ease you of it, if it lies in my Power. Come this Evening to the Gate of the Convent at the Hour of Pardon. I will give you a Bottle, in which you will find a double Dose, and I will add another Remedy to it. I shall be greatly obliged to you, replied the you ig semale Patient, for the Saint's Oil does more Harm than Good. I waited for Peter to come and visit me, before I took any, but now I will go and look for him. The Devil take the Saint and his Oil, cried the Friar. I could not have thought that I was working for Peter. Away, away, my Girl; to cure your Temptations you bave no farther Occa-

" fion for Agnus's nor Bottles of Oil."

I do not know, dear Monceca, whether the Government could justly punish this Franciscan, in Case Justice was to be administered in France after the Chinese Manner. In my Opinion, he had a lawful Excuse. You come, might he say, to besech the Saint to preserve your Chastity, at the Time that you have actually lost it. St. Turpin has, indeed, the Power to keep Maidenheads, but not to mend them. A Distinguo of the Schools would have been extremely proper on that Occasion. My Saint puts a Stop to Temptations which are begun, concedo; but to stop the Course of those into which one may have already fallen, nego.

Enjoy thy Health, dear Monceca; may thy Life be contented and happy; and take Care not to fall

into the Hands of Scourgers.

Grand Caire, the . . .

LETTER CXCII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conflantinople.

It is now a Week, excellent Isaac, since my Arrival in Paris, and all that Time I have spent in examining the Difference there is between the Character of the French, and that of the English. Though I should stay ten Years together in this City, that Time, though so very long, would not be sufficient for the Resections which the Subject suggests.

The first Thing that struck me, at my Return to France, was the Power of the Ecclefiastics. I have feen Priests in London, whose Authority did not reach beyond the Door of their Church; Bishops who had no other Power than that of regulating and governing their Clergy: And I found, in France, Churchmen who were extremely ambitious; watchful of every Opportunity to incroach upon the Rights of the Laity; forming, in the midst of a State, a distinct and separate State; Tyrants in lawn Sleeves, to whom the Name of Prelate is given, almost all equally proud of their Rank, which, by means of an old Superflition, secures to them Impunity with regard to any Faults they may commit; declaring Things as the Rights of the Church, which are most distant from it; ruining unmercifully those whom they hate, by accusing them of being 'Jansenists; exerting their utmost Endeavours to destroy the Authority of the Parliaments,

ments, and to depreciate, in the Monarch's Mind, those Assemblies; always careful to support, to the utmost of their Power, the Rights and Privileges of the Nation, against the Invasions of the Pope of Rome, the Head, the Genius and the Soul of the

Bishops of France.

The Nobility and Gentry of France, in general, feem to me to differ as much from those of England, as the Ecclefiastics of Paris differ from those of London. I have feen, in this last mentioned City, Persons of Distinction curious to inform themselves of the Interest of their Country; studying the Maxims and Manners of foreign Kingdoms; considering Ignorance as an ignominious Blemish, that degrades Man, and puts him upon a level with Brutes; cultivating the Arts and Sciences; protecting and rewarding the Learned, and contemning fuch Nations as have another Way of Thinking. I met, in Paris, with People whose only Care was to attend to their Perukes, or to the Play of the Knots of their Ribbons; who were as ignorant of the Rights, the Privileges, and fundamental Laws of their Country, as the mad Enthusiasts are of Reason or good Sense, and the Jesuits of Honesty; who almost blush at their being able to read; imagine that Philosophy and Pedantry are synonymous Terms; who fancy that Des Cartes, whose Name they hear of by Chance, was a Pedant in some School; who have the utmost Contempt for every Man who imagines there are any perfect Pleasures, except those of paffing the whole Night in drinking, fleeping away three Quarters of the Day; and who exhibit their coxcomical Figures in some Tavern Kitchen, where they flash away a numberless Multitude of filly Tokes.

However, this Character, Friend Isaac, does not fuit all the better fort of People among the Freub.

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We meet with in the City, and particularly among the Magistrates, whose Employments require them to study, many Persons who think in a quite different Manner from the Nobility and Gentry in general. But the Genius of a Nation must not be fettled from the Practice of a few. For one Gentleman in France who applies himself to Study, and adorns his Mind with useful Knowledge, how many of them spend their whole Lives without reflecting one Instant on any Thing which may be of Advantage to their Country, or the Advancement of the Those Persons who have lived some Time in Paris, may discover that there are few Countries in which young Perfons of Distinction spend their Time less in Matters of Consequence. Their Life is a Series of Dissoluteness, which consequently can he of no Advantage to themselves or their Country. Such of the Nobility and Gentry as refide at their Country-feats, take a great Delight in reading old Romances. This is the Employment of fuch among them as are defirous of making a Figure, and distinguishing themselves from the rest. The rest pass their Days in hunting, beating the Country People, in getting with Child their Farmers Daughters, in going to Law with the Parish Priests of their Villages about certain Privileges, and in fuddling on Sundays with their Stewards.

There appears to me, dear Isaac, between the common People among the English, and those of France, as wide a Difference in their Manner of Thinking, as between the Manners and Inclinations of the Ecclesiastics and Nobility of the two Nations in Question. The common People of Paris are good-natured, affable, Abhorrers of Rebellion, and Lovers of Strangers: Whereas those of London are brutal, excessively insolent, extravagantly fond of Novelty, ever ready to rebel, hating all Nations; possessing,

possessing, in a Word, all the Faults of the Nobility and Gentry of their Country, without having one of their Virtues or good Qualities. In my Opinion, Friend Isaac, to form a Nation who might make fure Approaches towards Perfection, it ought to be composed of the common People among the French, and the better fort among the English; by which I understand all Persons above the Rank of Artificers; there being many Merchants in London, who understand the Law, Philosophy, Politics, &c. much better than many Persons in France, whose Employments oblige them to be skilled in the Sciences. It is natural that where Ignorance is considered as a Vice among the Nobility, all Persons of a certain Condition should endeavour to inlighten their Minds. in order to gain Vogue, and win the Esteem and Consideration of the Public. There was a Time in France in which it was thought shameful to be ignorant. Every one endeavoured to cultivate the polite Arts and Sciences, or at least would be thought defirous of cultivating them. One would be apt to conclude that the Love of polite Literature -was buried in the same Grave with Lewis XIV, but now, it is almost a Shame for a Person to be acquainted with any Language but the French: And should this Humour continue, People may perhaps go such Lengths as not to dare to learn to read and write.

I do not write, worthy Isaac, but that the Contempt in which the truly Learned are held at Paris, depresses their Minds. When the Heart of Man is not raised by Honours and Applauses, the Desire of distinguishing himself decays, and no longer prompts him to those noble Enterprises, which are formed only by Persons of the greatest Courage. To what Purpose, would a learned Man say who meets with Contempt, is all the Pains I take!

write and study Day and Night; I ruin my Health, and I pass my Days in striking out Things which may be of Service to the Public; and yet the Public shall pay a higher Regard to some rich ignorant Fellow in a public Office; to an Usurer who has fatted himself by the Blood of the Widow and the Orphans, than to all the Literati

in Paris put together.

These Complaints, dear Isaac, are but too just. Should Reaumur or Cassini take it into their Heads to address themselves to some Nobleman, they would be made to wait whole Hours in his Anti-chamber; their Merit being of no Manner of Service to a Courtier. But should a Man of Business, possessed of an hundred thousand Livres a Year, appear, he is immediately introduced to my Lord. Things are to miserably abused, that Riches create Respect to a Knave, and Merit cannot do the same to a Man of Honour. It is true, indeed, excellent Isaac, that there are still living some Princes and Noblemen, to whom Learning and Virtue only give Acces; but, as I before observed to thee, a certain Number of choice People cannot be confidered as a whole Nation.

It is therefore no Wonder that the present Age does not give Rise to such Men as Des Cartes, Gassendi, Bayle, Racine, Boileau, Corneille, and la Bruyere. After the Doath of Fontenelle, Voltaire, and Montesquieu, should the Genius which now prevails in Paris continue in the same State, no Authors will be seen but those resembling Mouhi and the Journalist of Trevoux. Writers will then be prompted by no other Motives than those of Want, or a Desire of slandering; and consequently they will not be animated by Glory, or a laudable Ambition. At most there will start up several half-learned Writers, who, distinguished by the vain Title of Academicians, will industriously cultivate the trifling

fling Talent of ranging Words: And endeavour to write Pieces that will appear so many Music-Books, rather than Compositions made to adorn and improve the human Mind. The Reader will meet with Cadence and Harmony in their Periods, but with nothing else; and his Surprise will be great to meet with nothing but Sounds, where he expected

to meet with Things.

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The Constraint which is put upon Men of Letters, authorises greatly this depraved Taste. Befides the Contempt in which they are held, they are not allowed to write with that Liberty fo necessary in the Commonwealth of Learning. An Author is obliged to fay every Moment as he is writing: "I might change that Phrase, otherwise I shall " very much difgust the reverend Father of la " Maison Professe. This Phrase would bring me " under a Suspicion of being a Jansenist. It indeed. " prefents a shining Truth to the Mind; but then "I ought not to run the Hazard of being impri-" foned in the Bastile, merely for the Satisfaction " of speaking a Truth.—Here is a Character; but " I must be forced to suppress it. It describes a " general Character to Admiration; and yet it " might be applied to the Bishop of * * *; and, " in that Case, I shall be inevitably ruined. This " Stroke, which so happily describes the Pride of " great Men, would do me Prejudice; and for this " Reason it shall never be published; since the " Duke or Marquiss of * * * * might imagine that " I hinted at them. That Expression is too bold: " it would offend the Bastard to the Apothecary of " one of our Secretaries of State; and this might " difgust his Valet de-Chambre's Mistress. This " whole Chapter shall likewise be suppressed; fince " it may prevent my having a Licence to print " my Book, and possibly make the World look

upon me as an Atheist: I therein discuss some philosophical Questions, whence Consequences may be drawn to depreciate St. Pantaleon's Sliper, St. Ignatius's Os pubis, and Gharlemagne's Shoulder-belt; and what is worse, the holy Vial."

So ridiculous a Constraint, joined to the little Regard shewn to Men of true Learning, will infenfibly ruin polite Literature, in Case it should last for any Time. The French in the succeeding Age will be much upon a Level with the Spaniards of the present. They will have no other Compositions, except the devout Rhapsodies of the Friars, and a Parcel of Romances. This fad Truth begins already to be felt in Paris; the Merit of the Books which are published there confisting wholly in the Title. Such, for Inflance, are Father Regnault's Physical Conversations, and Father Porce's Orations; Orations writ in fuch a Style as can only deprave that of all young Students, and stuffed with childish and ridiculous Antitheses. It is very strange they should have given any Pleasure to those who heard them spoke: And, indeed, they were immediately fensible of their Error, as soon as they had an Opportunity of reading them. What can be more contemptible, more groveling, more bombast, and more like the Poet's Sonnet in Moliere's Mifanthrope; in a Word, more opposite to the Purity of Cicero's Diction, than that Passage in which the Jesuit in Question speaks of the Abode of Charles V. in Paris? "When a King, fays he, jealous of an Emperor's Glory, embraced him as his " Friend, went with him as with his Compani-"on, put his faithful into his infidel Hand, and chose to be thought over credulous rather than " forefworn; all Europe faw a Proof of the Probity es and " and Honour of the French *." Ever fince the Time of Petavius, of Bourdaloue, of Daniel, and such-like, the Jesuits have produced none but indifferent Authors, or those of the lowest Class. This they themselves are perfectly sensible of, and for that Reason they exclaim against the truly learned. They would not be so very jealous, were there still any great Men among them. Perhaps they one Day will have fine Writers among them; in which Cafe they will change their Maxims; and, returning to their former Opinion, they will condemn the Taste and Manner of Writing of their Brother-Jesuit Poree; and utterly disown most of the Compositions of a great Number of Scribblers, whom they now cry up as wonderful Writers. However, they will have done great Injury to the Republic of Letters; and their Desire of reigning over it will be as pre-judicial to Reason, to good Taste, and to Style, as the infipid, childish Writings of several Academicians now living.

I had a pleasant Conversation, some Days since, with one of the Gentlemen in Question. "You are lately come from England, says he to me. "Might I make so free as to ask you in what State "Learning is there?" It is carried, replied I, to a very great Height. The Visions and Chimeras of the

^{*} Quo tempore ingens Fidei documentum Europæ datum est, cum Rex æmulus Imperatorem æmulum excepit ut Hospitem, amplexus est ut Amicum, comitatus est ut Sodalem, dimisit ut Socium, datā in Dexteram fallacem constanti Dexterâ, maluitque videri malè credulus quàm malè sidelis. Caroli Porée Orationes. The following Words are inexpressibly ridiculous, maluitque videri malè credulus quàm malè sidelis. Those who understand Latin will easily perceive the childish Antithesis in these Words, malè credulus & malè sidelis. Such a Play of Words would not be pardoned in a School-Boy.

Schoolmen

Schoolmen are intirely banished from Oxford and Cambridge; and, in their Room, the Works of Newton and those of Locke are explained. London boasts some excellent Poets, who write on Subjects that are of Service to Mankind. The famous Mr. Pope joins, to the Charms of Poetry, the Doctrines of the most sage Philosophy. In him Homer and Plato are united. " So much the worse for the English Poetry, replied our " Academician." Why so much the worse, replied I? Because, continued he, no Writer can express him-" felf with great Purity, when he treats of philosoof phical Matters; at least it is so in the French "Tongue. The great Number of nows and buts, which go before the Conclusion of Arguments, " and a thousand other such Words, grate most horribly on the Ear. An Academician ought to employ himself wholly in writing amorous Ad-" ventures, Billet-doux, and tender Verses. In Case he is not of an amorous Disposition, he then may " amuse himself with writing History, provided, " however, that his Work does not swell to above two Volumes in Duodecimo. It is impossible for a Writer to correct and refine his Diction, when he writes three Volumes. Half a Year ago I pub-" lished a Work, consisting of fix hundred Pages, which I spent nine Years in polishing; and in-" deed I have the greatest Reason to be satisfied. There are but three ands, two buts, and one if, in my whole Work. I hope, in the fecond Edition, that I shall be so happy as to expunge one " but and two ands; and, to effect this, I must write fifteen Pages anew; and I shall not regret " the Trouble I may have been at, provided I shall " have executed my Defign." - What Book, fays I to the Academician, is this, the Correcting the Style of which cost such prodigious Pains? " It is a Collection, replied he, of Speeches and congratulatory Com-" pliments,

" pliments, which I spoke in the Academy, at the "Reception of several Members. There are twelve "Discourses in all; and every one of them con-" tains an Elogium of Chancellor Seguier, of Car-" dinal Richlien, and of Lewis XIV." I congratulate you, faid I to this pedantic Academician, for employing nine Years in expunging all the ands and buts in the twelve Elogiums in Question. This certainly was a Time very happily employed, a Toil greatly advan tageous to Civil Society, and to the Advancement of Learning. It nevertheless may be wished, for the Sake of the Republic of Letters, that the Style of those who are scared at a but, or and, may not eclipse those of Boileau, Sarasin, Pelisson, and Patru. I then left my Academician, who appeared highly offended at my Opinion, as well as at the Freedom with which

Enjoy thy Health, dear Isaac; may thy Life be a perpetual Series of Content and Satisfaction; and be assured that I will see thee again, before it is long.

I told it him.

Paris, the



LETTER CXCIII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

Yesterday, Friend Isaac, paid a Visit to a Jefuit, whom I fometimes saw at Chevalier de Maisin's. He is a polite Man, of an amiable Disposition, and very delightful in his Conversation; fo that I imagined it would be absolutely necessary for me to give him some Marks of my Esteem, and to do his Brethren in Constantinople all the Service in my Power. His Employment is one of the most considerable in his Order. He is Principal of the College of Lewss XIV. that is, first Director of all the Youths educated there, as well as of the feveral Preceptors. I will confess to thee, that, abstracted from good Manners, Curiofity had a great Share in my Visit; and that I was delighted in having an Opportunity to examine the Manner in which the Youth of Distinction among the French are educated.

At my Coming into the College, I perceived a great Number of Students very busy in raising a Stage in the Center of a Court. For what Use, Reverend Father, says I to him, is this Edifice designed? It is for a Tragedy, replied he, which our Students are going to perform here. You must come and see them; and be affured that it is one of the most delightful Entertainments in Paris." How, replied I, do you undertake to bring up Perfons

sons who may one Day be qualified to succeed such Players as may drop off in the French Play-house? I imagined that you taught none but the useful Sciences; but now I find that there is no Art, no Profession, but you have Masters for them. Since you breed Players, you doubtless bring up likewise Rope-dancers!

This Question made the Jesuit laugh heartily. " It is plain, fays he to me, that you are not yet " acquainted with the Customs of this Country. "Our Reasons for making young Students deliver "Speeches in public is to accustom them, from " their early Years, to repeat a Discourse with "Grace. We are not bringing up Comedians, " but Orators, Advocates, and Preachers." this, replied I, is your Design, methinks you take a very wrong Method to succeed in it. Instead of making a Student, whom you intend for the Bar, speak two Speeches of a Tragedy, let him pronounce one of Patru's Pleadingt; and, as for the Scholars whom you intend for the Pulpit, let them learn by Heart Bourdaloue's Sermons, and the Bishop of Meaux's Funeral Orations. What Affinity is there between the Despair of Hermione and the Law; and what Relation does the wild Fury of Orestes bear to the facred Writings? Besides, this Manner of speaking Verse is directly opposite to the modest and edifying Tone of Voice required in a Preacher, and to the simple, but masculine and nervous Pronunciation required in Pleaders at the Bar. Do you imagine, Reverend Father, that, were Du Frene * to get up into the Pulpit, he would have a very grave and very persuasive Air and Manner? Methinks I fee him turning his Eyes according to Art, darting the most amorous Glances at the Saint whose Panegyric he makes, and pronouncing the Elogium of Saint Genevieva in the same Manner as that of Zayre.

[·] A famous Player in Paris.

is my Opinion that Gaussin * would not make a better Lawyer than Du Frene a Preacher. Let us suppose, for an Instant, that this famous Actress, clothed in a Pleader's Gown, and holding a Bag of Papers, was to plead before the Parliament. Her Eyes would employ all their Rhetoric in order to win the Hearts of her Judges; and her Heart would melt in Favour of her Client, whom she would bewait in the same plaintive Tone that Andromache bewails the Loss of ber Son. But to what Purpose would all this be? To none at all, or at most to make the Judges say, This little Fellow is very like Columbine in the Farce, where the represents the Lawyer who pleads both for Plaintiff and Defendant, as well in the Turn of her Face, as in her Manner of Pleading. She would have made a very pretty Player. I fancy, Reverend Fether, it is the same with regard to the Orators brought up by you. They always retain the Air and Manner taught them in the Theatres of your College.

"There is fome Truth, replied the Jesuit, in what you say. But, if we should make our Puip pils pronounce Pleadings and Sermons, who, for

"God's Sake, would come to hear them? We hould lose the Pleasure of seeing the Pains we

" take in instructing them applauded by all Paris.

" All People do not speak in as solid a Manner as you. It is of greater Use, for the Glory of our

"Society, to form theatrical Pleaders and Preach-

" ers, than to make excellent Orators, who would

" not give the People in general an advantageous

"Idea of our Manner of Education. When a Lawyer pleads, the Judges do not ask, whether

" he has been brought up among the Jesuits? If he

" has a graceful Delivery, we are not praifed for

^{*} A celebrated Actress, who succeeded Le Couvreur.

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" it. It is the same with Regard to a Preacher in " Vogue; his Hearers feldom or never inquiring " after the Place in which he was brought up." According to this Maxim, replied I, methinks, Reverend Father, that you ought to fuit all your Instructions which you give to your Pupils to the Interest of the Society; and that this ought to be the only Circumstance attended to on that Occasion. " As this Interest, re-" plied the Jesuit, is blended with that of Religion, " we make no Difficulty of directing all the Stu-" dies of our Pupils to that End. This is a Truth " acknowledged by every good Catholic, I mean " by every Man devoted to the Holy See, viz. that " we ought to banish, at least explode, all the Sci-" ences, which, by accustoming the Mind to rea-" fon with too much Boldness, and to go too deep " in the Inquiry of Things, make it, infenfibly, " reject certain Points of Doctrine which appear " contrary to Reason and the Light of Nature, and er yet are not, on that Account, less effential Arti-" cles of Faith. Such are those of the Belief of " the Pope's Infallibility; of the Necessity of extir-" pating, both by Fire and Sword, all Heretics; " and of confidering as fuch all who are not Faut-" ors of the Society, which is the strongest Support " of the Church." Thefe Maxims, replied I, are so repugnant to those Notions and Ideas which are acquired only by Philosophy, that it is my Opinion your Pupils do not apply themselves much to it.

"We have intirely banished, replied the Jesuit, from our Schools, all the Writings of the modern Philosophers. We infinuate to our Students, that Des Cartes, Locke, and Gassendi, were Authors of very trisling Abilities, who owe all their Reputation to a Love of Novelty. We even

"treat those Writers as Persons either suspected or convicted of Heresy; and there are none of

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our Professors of Philosophy, but are sure to sa-" tyrize them in their Compositions. Thus, aid-" ed by these Prejudices, we utterly ruin their Re-" putation in the Minds of young People." What Science then, fays I to the Jesuit, do you teach under the Name of Philosophy? " We explain to them, " replied he, the Doctrines of the Peripatetics and " of the Schoolmen." How! fays I to him, do you perplex the Memory of your Pupils with a numberless Multitude of absurd, unintelligible, and impertinent Expressions? During whole Years together, you oblige your Scholars to Study Substantial Forms, A parte Mentis & Rei, Second Intentions, Arguments in Baroco, in Barbara, in Baralipton? I no longer wonder that, when they come into the World, they should have the utmost Contempt for every Thing that bears the Name of Philosophy, and look upon all those as Pedants who apply themselves to it. It is impossible but they should do so; for they cannot judge of a Thing but by the Knowledge they have of it. What a pitiful Knowledge is this you afcribe to them! Henceforward, whenever I hear a Frenchman contemn the Study of Philosophy, I shall consider him as a Man who had never drank any but bad Wine; and who, imagining all

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Champaign.

"This very Distaste, replied the Jesuit, which

you censure so strongly, is what we endeavour to

inspire into all our Scholars; and this proves the

the different Wines equally bad, would consider all those as Fools or Madmen who should praise Burgundy and

Glory and Security of our Society. We have long taken Notice, that the Knowledge of the

Sciences serves to no other Purpose than to swell the Minds of those who posses them. They

have done infinite Prejudice to the Jesuits, and

" to the Court of Rome. Most of those among the Laity especially, who are distinguished by their Abilities,

" Abilities, have fignalized themselves by some In-" vective levelled at our Society. Thuanus has stig-" matized it in many Parts of his History. Pasquier " has gone a still greater Length in his Inquiries. " How greatly have Pascal, Saci, and all the Ancho-" rites of Port-Royal, &c. injured it? Such are the " pernicious Confequences which arise when the " Laity apply themselves to found Learning. If " all the Persons in Question had been as ignorant " as those who are educated in our Schools, they " would never have taken it into their Heads to " write against us, nor to attack the Christian Re-" ligion by injuring our Society. As therefore it is " for the Interest of Religion, and of our Society, " to have the Sciences undervalued, can you won-" der at our inveighing fo strongly against every " Thing that bears the Name of modern Philosophy? " Besides, this is what our greatest Enemies teach. " The Professors of Eloquence explain in their Col-" leges the Writings of Des Cartes, and Mallebranche " was one of that Philosopher's most zealous Disci-" ples. We are resolved not to bear the least Si-" militude to Persons, all whose Actions we endea-" vour to blacken: We have the most just Reasons " to hate Des Cartes; all the Anchorites of Port-" Royal were his Followers; and, during a certain " Time, Cartefians, Jansenists, and Anti-Jesuits, wete " fynonymous Words. As Nicole was one of the " Authors of the Art of Thinking, would it be natu-" ral for us to own that Aristotle's Logic is not per-" feet? In doing this we should applaud one of our " most dangerous Enemies; this would be owning, " that it was possible for a valuable Book to come " out of Port-Royal; and we publicly maintain a " contrary Opinion. Our Father Bouhours endea-" voured to the utmost of his Power to prove, that " all the Authors of Port-Royal were unskilled in " the

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the French Tongue; but the Public were so obsti-

" nate as not to believe him."

I am of Opinion, Reverend Father, fays I, that Father Bouhours's Design was as chimerical, as that of proving that the Germans cannot possibly have Wit. This would make me suspect, that the Books which some learned Men of that Nation have writ against the Jefuits, are almost as valuable as those of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, since they were treated much after the Same Manner. But, now we are talking of Books of polite Literature, says I, pray inform me in what Manner you instruct your Pupils in them? " As this Study, replied the Jesuit, is not as dangerous as that of Philosophy, we explain to them the Greek and Roman Authors; and, at the fame Time, endeavour to give them a better Relish for the "Poets than for the Historians and Orators." Wherefore, replied I, do you alt in this Manner? This, continued he, is likewise of Use to our Society and the Christian Religion. A Man, who at his leaving College, spends the Remainder of " his Life in reading the Works of Horace, Virgil, catullus, Ovid, Juvenal, &c. is no Ways in " Danger of becoming a Heretic, nor to leave the of pleasing Entertainments those Poets give, to peruse Authors of a dangerous and seducing Kind. " If, after having studied the Latin Poets, they apof ply themselves to those among the French, as corneille, Racine, La Fontaine, Moliere, and an " hundred more, these will not make them Enemies either to our Society, or to the Court of Rome. But should he delight in studying the Historians, after having perused Thucydides, Xenoso phon, Livy, Salust, &c. he then will not fail to ce read Thuanus, d' Aubigne, Mezerai, Puffendorff, " Bayle, Rapin Thoyras, &c. and, in this Case, to what Dangers will he not be exposed? What Ime pressions 3.

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" pressions may he not receive from the Perusal of " fuch dangerous Writers? The History written " by Thuanus is, fingly, capable of inspiring a Hor-" ror for the Jesuits; and to root out, in the most " prejudiced Mind, the Prepoffessions imbibed du-" ring ten Years ipent in our Colleges. It is true, " indeed, that, to obviate this Inconvenience as " much as possible, our Society has writ a great " Number of Books, in which Truth is displayed " in its utmost Lustre. But then the Jansenists " on the one Hand, and the Protestants on the " other; and, what is worse, a great Number of " Molinists, who call themselves faithful Royalists, "have inveighed fo much against the Books in "Question, that they have quite ruined the Credit " of them, except with regard to thole devout Per-" fons whom we direct, and to whom we prescribe " the Perusal of them, as an Antidote against the " Slanders of our Enemies. For Things are car-" ried to fo great a Height in this Particular, that, " in the Opinion of many Persons, Maimbourg and "Impostor, Jouvenci and Lyar, are synonymous "Terms." I will own, Reverend Father, says I to " the Jesuit, that I meet with many Persons who are of the same Opinion. But were they not in the right? "And Maimbourg - Maimbourg, replied the " Fefuit, is vaftly accurate; and People begin to " lay afide the disadvantageous Opinion they had " entertained of him. It is an undoubted Fact, that " the Falsities with which that Writer has been so " ftrongly charged, ought justly to be laid to the " Charge of his Adverfaries. Two hundred Years " hence his Authority will no doubt be of great "Weight, and it then will be seen what Use our " Society will make of his Works."

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Observing, Friend Isaac, that the Jesuit took Fire, and defended with great Zeal all the Historians of the Society, I did not think it proper to infift any longer on the little Credit that ought to be given to them. I only asked, what could be the Reason why the Jesuits did not endeavour to give their Pupils an advantageous Idea of Tully, and the rest of the Orators? "We have taken Notice, " faid he, that all in general called Gentlemen of 44 the Long Robe, Presidents, Counsellors, Advo-" cates, &c. have an utter Difinclination to our Society. The Study of Eloquence generally " leads a Man to the Bar; and, the Instant he " has formed a Resolution to devote himself to it, he entertains a thousand Whimsies, to which he " gives the odious Name of Privileges of the Clergy, and Liberties of the Gallican Church; and de-" votes himself intirely to raise the Glory of the " Parliaments, the mortal Enemies to the Society " and Court of Rome. For this Reason we would or not permit our Pupils to read Cicero's Works, if " we were not absolutely forced to it. To lessen the Credit of them as much as lies in our Power, " we bestow the highest Encomiums on certain oratorical Discourses, written by some of the Fathers of our Society, which, having nothing in common with the Eloquence of the Bar, resemble very much the bright Sallies of the Italian Poets." You are always harping upon Poetry, replied I to the Jesuit; for which Reason I do not wonder that your Pupils should be so fond of the Stage, upon which they are to represent your Tragedies. I even conceive that you are very much in the right to employ them in that Manner; for it is certain that, so long as they shall set themselves up for Players, they will never take it into their Heads to write any Books which may prejudice your Society. What

What Idea wilt thou entertain, dear Isaac, of a Set of People, among whom fuch Persons as are defigned for the chief Employments of the State, after fpending ten Years at School, have acquired no other Talent in it, but the trifling one of being able to declaim some tragic Scene? What a wife Nation must that be, in which the Magistrate is educated after the same Manner as the Player and Tumbler? where all the Knowledge that a Nobleman has of the Liberties of his Country, confifts in what he had learned from the Reading of Corneille; where the Gentleman and confiderable Tradesman knows no more of History than what he is taught from the Compilations of Mariana, and some other Historian among the Jesuits; where the studious Man forms his Library of the Orations of Porce the Jesuit, Father du Perceau's Poems, and, what is worse, of the Trevoux fournals! What Glory may not such a Nation hope to acquire, in a very fhort Time, by fuch Aids as the above-mentioned? To be ferious. worthy Isaac, I should pity the French very much, if the Prejudices which they imbibe in the Colleges of the Jesuits were not balanced by the good Education which are bestowed on great Numbers of Perfons in other Colleges, directed by Preceptors of the finest Abilities.

Farewel, dear Isaac, live contented and happy; and expect me shortly.

Paris, the

LETTER CXCIV.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a Carcite, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

Spent a whole Day, dear Isaac, without employing a fingle Moment in any Thing useful: I could almost be tempted to say, that I passed a Day without thinking, or perceiving that I was informed

with a Soul capable of reflecting.

Chevalier de Maisin proposed to me, last Week, for us to go and dine with a Nobleman, a Friend of his. He is a very good natured Man, fays he, he loves Mirth and good Chear. His Manner of Thinking, indeed, does not agree very well with yours; but we as not always meet with wife Men and Philo-Sophers. A Man should fuit himself as well as he can to all forts of Characters, and make the best Advantage of them possible. Ast as I do; I endeavour to reap Advantage by my Acquaintance with all Men. Something useful may be found in every one of them. A Coxcomb is sometimes possessed of Virtues unknown to many of the Literati. Seduced by these specious Words, I let him take me to the young Nobleman's in Question. It was half an hour after One when we got there. Is the Count up? fays Chevalier de Maifin, He is not, Sir, replied a Valet-de-Chambre, who carried us into his Matter's Apartment. We found him in Bed; and his Chamber would have been quite dark, had it not been for a few Rays of Light that darted through the Shutters. Surprised at the Gloom, I naturally imagined, that the Person who

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was in Bed at fuch an Hour was fick; and accordingly was going to ftep back, when a weak, effeminate Voice, which could scarce pierce through the Curtains, broke into the following Sounds: Is it you, dear Chevalier? faid he. I went to Bed at Five this Morning; we drank like Fishes. Should I go on in this Way, it will be impossible for me to hold it long . -You are a Debauchee, replied the Chevalier; you ruin your Health, and will one Day regret your having been to prodigal of it .- What a poor Creature you are, Chevalier? replied the Count. I do not fet up for a Philosopher, as you do. I make Use of Life, and so let what will happen. The new Actres, who performs the Part of Egle, Supped with us last Night. By my Life she is an inchanting Creature, and takes off her Glass of Champaign like any jovial Bacchanal. We certainly have played the Public a very fourty Trick. for I am mistaken if she will not be boarse To night. But we must go to the Opera and clap her: I really shall be very forry should our last Night's Debauch do ber the leaft Prejudice.

During all this Discourse the Curtains continued undrawn. The Chevalier had not yet spoke to his Friend about me; and finding he did not offer to get up, I bring you, fays he, a Perjon for rubom I have the greatest Love and Esteem, and therefore must bring you acquainted .- " Who is that adorable Person, replied " the Count, for whom I already feel the strongest " Sensations of Tenderness? Where is he? let me " embrace him!" Saying these Words, the pert Coxcomb threw the Curtains open; and, half-naked, flung himself out of Bed upon the Floor-" Come " hither, dear Sir, fays he to me, let me affure you " that no Person in the World can be more your " Servant than I am."-Saying these Words, he feemed to be feized with a violent Fit of the Vapours, when, ringing fo rhis Servants, two Valet-de-Cham-

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bres came up immediately, one with his Nightgown, and the other with his Slippers. The In-Stant he had taken them, he flew to me with open Arms, hugged me five or fix Times, and almost took my Breath away. " I am infinitely obliged, " fays he, to the Chevalier, for procuring me the "Pleasure of your Acquaintance. Have you been " long in Paris?"-I came, fays I to him, from England .- " So, ho, continued the Fop; you are an Englishman, I warrant you. Ods my Life, vour Countrymen are Men of deep Thought. " I am told that you have a great many Genius's among you; but Burgundy and Champaign are " vastly dear in England. It is my Opinion that they lose their Strength in croffing the Sea. Are vour Tippling-houses in the Villages round London as gay and fmiling as those about Paris?"-I am not an Englishman, replied I, I was born in Constantinople. " In Constantinople, fays the " Fop, in Constantinople, say you? It is a most dece lightful City. I am told that the Women there are exquifitely beautiful. There are Circassians in that City, whose Charms would eclipse those of our Opera Songsters. How many Mistresses " has the Grand Seignior in his Seraglio?" That, replies I, no-body can tell but the chief black Eunuchs. -" Eunuchs, fays the Count; those Wretches are so many barbarous Gaolers to the poor Women.-" The Grand Seignior must be a tyrannical fort of a " Master! He must have Things enough to amuse ichim, or I am hugely mistaken. Yet it is my ci Opinion, that, spite of the great Number of his "She-favourites, he must sometimes be quite tired " with himself. He has no Idea of what we call dece licate Parties of Pleasure, charming Suppers, and engaging Company. He is for ever that up in his "Seraglio with his Fair-ones, like a Cock with es his "his Hens. When he sups with any of his darling Mistresses, do they inliven the Entertainment
with a Song? I fancy not. They are as melancholy together as a couple of Watch-tapers. The
Ottoman Emperor eats as soberly with his Sultana,
as the Tradesman of St. Dennis-street does with
his Wife."

It is very difficult, fays I, to know any Thing transacted in the Seraglio. The most indifferent Actions are there concealed under the Veil of Secrecy and Difcretion. It is even dangerous to pry into the Intrigues carrying on there, such a Curiosity being often punished with the utmost Rigour .- "It is different, fays " the Count, in France. In that Country a Person " may, without running any Danger, inquire into " the Intrigues of the Court. If you please, I will " give you a List of all those carried on in it ever " fince the Beginning of this Year. You shall " take this List to Constantinople; and be affured " that it will include a great Number of curious " Particulars," -- What are you thinking of, dear Count? interrupted Chevalier de Maisin with a Smile; before this Gentleman reaches his native Country, your List would be as useless as last Year's Almanack; and you might have made ten new ones by that Time. "Ods " Heart, fays my Coxcomb, to make such a List of "Use, it ought to be renewed twice or thrice a

During all this Tittle-tattle, two Valets-dechambre were dreffing the Count; the one was putting on his Stockings, the other buckling his Shoes; and I was surprised that a Man, to whom Providence had indulged the Use of all his Limbs, should suffer himself to be dressed as though he were a Doll. I imagined that I saw a gigantic Doll, which a Painter was cloathing in a French Dress. Was this Fop, says I to myself, afflicted with the

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Pally, he would think himself very unhappy, and would be for ever hemoaning himself, for being denied the Use of his Limbs; and yet he acts in the very same Manner as if he was deprived of them. It must be confessed that Grandeur and State, which consist in not making Use of one's Hands, is as ridiculous as that which endeavours to create a Contempt for the Sciences. In order for a Person to assume the Behaviour of a Nobleman, he must make but a half Use of his Limbs

and of his Genius.

My Assonishment was soon interrupted by the Orders which the Count gave for ferving up Dinner. They were punctually obeyed, fo that a Moment after we fat down at Table, there was a most elegant Entertainment, and every Dish was finely dreffed; and yet he did not like any of them. One was too infipid, and another too high feafoned: and he was for ever asking my Opinion about them. I praised every one, but my Applause was ascribed to Civility. In short, among these various Ragouts, there was one that pleased the Count. It was really finely tasted; but it was composed of fifty Sorte of Viands of different Kinds, and was a mortal Poifen, but exquisite to the Palate. Is it possible, fays I to myself, that a Man should pay so high a Price for Dishes that are so prejudicial to his Health; and despite all such as are dressed in so plain a Manner as cannot burt it? The Count did all that lay in his Power to make me eat as heartily as himself of that Ragout. " Eat heartily of this, faid he to me every Moment; " this is the only tolerable Dish that has been served " up. I fee plainly, continued be, that you feldom " eat Dinners. You keep your Appetite for Sup-" per. This is acting like a Man of Sense. Day-" light is impertinent at Meals; and it is only by "the Light of Wax-tapers that one can take that " delicious Joy which forms the very Soul of Enter-" tainments.

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"tainments. But you shall drink a Glass or two of Champaign, after which we will move off to the Play, and then go and sup with the new Actress. I have ordered, the Moment the Opera

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I would gladly, dear Isaac, have avoided the Propofal which the Count made me, but unhappily I was the Victim to the French Politeness. I was forced, spite of myself, to run the Hazard of injuring my Health; and to follow, a whole Day, a Way of Life intirely different from that I was used to. I was now got to the Play-house, with my Fop and Chevalier de Maisin, I was going into a Box, but the former, feizing my by the Hand, asked me, with an Air of Surprise, whither I intended to go? I am going, replied I, to get into some Place where I may hear the Play without being interrupted .-What are you thinking of, replied the Count? " We are to have Mithridates; it is an old Trage-" dy that has been played these fifty Years. Horrid! " It is like one of the Pieces acted in Henry the " Fourth's Days. Come into the Green-room; " we will chat with those Girls." I again obeyed my Coxcomb, though with great Reluctance. The Moment we came into the Green-room, he flew to the Actress who was to play the Part of Monimia. She was dreffed for the Stage; and, according to Custom, was come to beg some Compliments, and lavish away a few Glances. "So, lovely Gaussin, " fays he to her, we shall have the Pleasure of hear-" ing you To-night. The Town would be very " unjust to regret poor La Couvreur; you are worth " an hundred fuch Actresses. This I declare pub-" licly every Day; and have the Pleasure to find that " all Persons of Taste are of my Opinion." The Actress, charmed with these Words, thanked the Count, and repaid his Compliments by two or three Glances, to the Power of which he was no Ways infenfible. He shrugged up his Shoulders, smiled, took two or three Pinches of Snuff, turned his Head, kiffed the Actress's Hand, cut a Caper, spoke two or three Words; and all this in fo short a Time, that none but a Fop could run through fo much in to few Minutes. In the mean Time the Actress was forced to go and play her Part. Scarce was she got out of the Green-room, when the Count, coming up to me, spoke thus with a very serious Air and a most charitable Tone of Voice: "It is good to " encourage young Beginners. That poor Girl is " a very indifferent Actress, and is no more like "La Couvreur than—. The Stage has had an "irretrievable Loss. And, indeed, ever fince that "Time. I have always been fond of the Opera, " fo that I come here very feldom. But, now I " am talking of the Opera, it is Time for us to go " thither. I want to hear the Duet in the fifth Act. "Come, let us fly thither." As my Fop warbled these last Words, he ran with such Speed that I could scarce overtake him; and, when we were got into the Street, he was still finging. I imagined he would leave off when we were got into the Coach; but he went on, and had not left off when we arrived at the Opera-house. "What Act are they in? fays he to the Box-keeper. -- In the third, " Sir, replied he. In the third, fays he, Zoons, in " the third! what a confounded long Time must we " wait before we hear the Duet? Come, come " away to the Green-room." And now, to engage me to follow him, he began to fing (as he walked, or rather danced:) In In this bless'd Place let's seek for Peace; The Smiles and Sports will us attend. Who seek for Joys, will find Increase Of Joys resin'd, that know no End.

" My dear Constantinopolitan, says he, squeezing my Hand,

'Tis here Felicity supreme resides; Here Pleasures slow in never-ceasing Tides.

" Here a Man, without being the Grand Seignior, " may, for ten Pistoles, chuse any Beauty whom he " has a Mind to diffinguish by throwing her the " Handkerchief. You cannot conceive how ad-" vantageous the Opera is, for those who delight in " fprightly, easy Pleasures." Saying these Words, he found himself, unexpectedly, in the midst of ten or twelve Actresses, when a fresh Gaiety spread immediately over his whole Countenance. He did not now affume the tender Air which he had put on in the Play-house, but discovered, in every Part of him, the frolicfome, wanton, hair-brained Debauchee - " How goes it, my Girl? fays he to one of " those female Singers. How long is it fince you " faw the Marquis? I fancy he is a Rover: Will " you sup with us this Evening? Depend upon it " he will not be jealous. Be affured that nothing " immodest will be offered. Nothing but Cham-" paign flows among us; nothing more, upon my " Honour. I grow more prudent every Day, and, " I really believe, more devout." He did not wait for any Answer to these Words, but slew to another Singer. " Are you there, charming Germain? " fays he with an Air of Surprise. I was affured " that you had taken a Trip to England. To what

ftrange Lengths will Slander go, and how much is Virtue fometimes exposed! And, indeed, I was surprised that the wise St. Germain, the chasse St Germain, should be so imprudent as to sollow to London, a hair-brained Fellow, who possibly would not have carried her thither, but have dropped her by the Way. This would have been uncharitable. There is no great Harm in chousing the English of their Guineas when they are in Paris; but surely they ought to escape being

duped in their own Country."

My Fopling feemed very much inclined to carry on his Jokes; and would not have left off fo foon, had not the Actress at whose Lodgings he was to fup, come into the Green-room. He flew to her instantly. " Lovely Ægle, fays be, I am come to clap you. You are the Delight of all who fee " and hear you. They are inchanted with your "Voice, and inflamed by your Eyes. -- I have " ordered a large Quantity of Champaign. " take you in my Berlin, as from as the Opera is over." The female Singer accepted the Count's Offer with Pleasure; and, the Moment she had done her Part upon the Stage, the Count, the Fairone, Che. de Maisin and myfelf, all set out in order to go to Supper. The first Conversation which passed at Table, turned upon Opera's and Mufic; but it was foon succeeded by others of a different Strain; and the Intrigues of the Actreffes and Singers were the only Topic. I heard the Stories of ten Gallants who had been ruined, of thirty who had been betrayed, of forty who had been so weak as to imagine their Mistresles had really loved them, and of fifty who had been rejected with Scorn, because their Circumstances were not flourishing enough. After

After they had gone through the Chronicle of Intrigues, a Propofal was made for a Song. I was delighted with the Motion, and accordingly flattered myself that I should hear some of those admirable Airs which Bacchus and the Muses dictated to excellent Poets: But my Joy was not long-lived; for inflead of hearing Songs in the Taste of those of Anacreon, of Sappho, of Voiture, of Madam des Houlieres, and of Coulange, my Ears were stunned with a Flood of low Ballads, in the Taste of Chickens and Sparrowgrass, Wipe your Nose, &c. " These are " fine Songs, fays the Count to me, over a Glass. " Elegant People do not love your Lully's long Songs, in two or three Parts; and they now are thought " as obsolete as my Great-Grandmother. Former-" ly an Entertainment always used to end with " Songs in Honour of Cupid, Bacchus, Iris, and " Phillis; but, Thanks to the good Taste that pre-" vails, all that old Stuff is thrown out of Doors, " Persons of good Breeding now declare universally. " with the excellent Author of Hurlothrumbo, in " Favour of All alive and merry :"

Open, open quick the Door,
Nymph, with Charms an endless Store.
'Tis, my Fair one, Twelve at Night;
Show thine Eyes as Diamonds bright.
Waiter, bring Beuf-a-la-mode;
Bring the Fare, a mighty Load:
Let the Ham superior shine;
Ham gives Gusto to the Wine*.

Judge, dear Isaac, of the Astonishment I was in. Do you call this, says I, a polite Supper? What is

^{*} All the Fops used to sing, and still continue to sing, this ridiculous and impertinent Song.

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the Taste of the Entertainment of Porters and common Soldiers, since Persons of Quality behave as they used to do? Were such amiable Debauchees as St. Evremond and Chapelle to return again into the World, it is my Opinion that they would chuse to turn Anchorites rather than sollow the present Mode. Our Feasts, would they say, were a School for polishing the Mind; but those of the present Age are calculated only for Cramming.

Farewel, good Isaac; may thy Life be one continued Series of Prosperity, and form to thyself a just Idea of the trisling Life led by Fops and Cox-

combs.

Paris, the



LETTER CXCV.

JACOB BRITO to AARON MONCECA.

HAVE been, dear Monceca, these four or five Days in Malta; and I intend to leave it as soon as possible, in order to sail for Constantinople; the Captain whom I intend to embark with waiting only for a fair Wind. I spend the little Time I have to stay in this City, in inquising into the Manners

and Customs of the Knights.

They bear a mortal Enmity to all Persons of our Faith. A Man who is of Jewish Extraction is never admitted into their Island. Their Aversion does not stop here. Should a Gentleman, whose Ancestors were formerly of their Order, marry a Woman who is related to, or barely descended from a Jewish Family, though she were as zealous a Nazarene as St. Ursula or St. Aldegonda, her Children would

would never be allowed to fet their Feet in Malta. Their Names are writ in a Book called the Golden Book. Farther, the Instant a Family becomes Fewish by Marriage, or that one who is so obtains Letters Patent of Nobility, and fuch Titles as may afterwards qualify them to be admitted into Malta, it is inserted in the Register of rejected Persons, to prevent any Inconveniencies which might otherwise arise from their being forgot during a long Course of Years. In the Language of the Country, fuch Families as spring from Jewish Ancestors are called Jews from the Stem; and those who are so by Marriage, Jews from the Venter. There are a There are a great Number of ancient Houses in several Provinces of France, Spain, and Portugal, which, though they have been Nazarene during several Ages, will yet be never allowed to enter among the Knights of Malta, because their Names are writ in the Golden Book.

The Hatred which the Knights bear to those of our Faith, arose from the Treachery of a Jew, who occasioned the Taking of the Island of Rhodes. They once possessed, as thou knowest, this Island; but loft it in the Reign of Solyman the Magnificent, who possessed himself of it. They were less fuccessful against that Emperor than against Mahommed II. This dreadful Conqueror, whose Arms had been always irrefistible, attacked Rhodes to no Purpose. In 1480, he invaded that Island with a formidable Army, under the Command of Paleolo-gus the Bashaw. The Fleet appointed to carry over this Army confisted of one hundred and fixty Sail, exclusive of those appointed to carry the Baggage, Peter d' Aubusson Grand-Master, or chief Knight of Rhodes, defeated all this Force; and defended Rhodes with fo much Valour and Prudence. that, after losing the most considerable Part of his

Army, Paleologus the Bashaw was obliged to draw off his Troops. However, the ill Success which Mahommed II, met with, did not intimidate Solyman, who laid Siege to that City in 1522. The Knights calling to Mind the noble Defence which their Ancestors had made, and animated by Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, resisted, with the utmost Bravery, the Attacks of the Enemy. However, their Courage did not avail, occasioned by the Treason of Andrew Amarat, a Portuguese, and Chancellor of the Order This Man bore a mortal Hatred to the Grand-Master, from the Supposition that the last mentioned had been raised to the highest Employment of the Order, to his Prejudice. To revenge himself of his particular Enemy, and of all the Knights who had been preferred before him, he informed the Jews, by means of a Jewish Phylician, of the State of the Place, and the Debates of the Council, in which he, by his Employment, had a Seat. This Treason having been discovered, the Criminals were punished; however, the Advice he had given from Time to Time was no less fatal to the Knights, they being forced to give up the City, after making one of the noblest Defences we read of in History.

This, dear Monceca, is the Reason why the Knights of Malta have the Jews in such Detestation; and of the cruel Decrees they made, for excluding eternally from their Island all who might bear the least Relation to them. It is surprising that, for the Crime committed by a particular Person, they should have struck at a considerable Number of noble and ancient Families, who are strongly branded by this Exclusion. However, the Jews are not punished by this Means, but the Nazarenes, or rather those who forsake the Jewish Religion. Had a Method been sought for, in Europe, still to

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keep, in the Jewish Principles, all such rich Families as might have been influenced by Ambition, a more infallible Way could not have been found, than that of stigmatizing, in this Manner, all Nazarenes

who fprung from Ifraelites.

It was after the Taking of Ferufalem by the Turks, that the Knights, then called of St. John of Jerusalem, had possessed themselves of the Island of Rhodes. by which Name they then were called. Upon their being obliged to quie it, Charles V. gave them Malta for the Place of their Abode, where they fortified themselves in a short Time, in such a Manner, that they were able to refift the Attacks of their Enemies. It was extremely necessary for them to use all the Precautions imaginable; for Solyman, encouraged by the Taking of Rhodes, formed a Defign to beliege Malta. In 1566, Mustapha, Bashaw of Buda, made a Descent upon it; but after having spent four Months there, and loft upwards of twenty thousand Men, he drew off his Troops. The Grand Seigniors ever fince that Time have laid afide all Thoughts of belieging Malta; and, indeed, it is morally impossible for them ever to take it.

The ORDER OF MALTA, now so flourishing and renowned among all the Nazarenes, rose from avery inconsiderable Beginning. Its Glory resembles pretty much that of the ancient Romans; it rising on a sudden from the lowest Origin. The Founder of Rome was a young Man brought up among Shepherds, who got together some Banditti and Vagabonds, at whose Head he set himself; and the Founder of the Knights of Malta was the humble Inhabitant of Martegues, a little Town in Province, and his Name John-Baptist Gerard. He was the Director of an Hospital which the Nazarenes had founded in Jerusalem, before Godfrey of Bouillon had possessed himself of it, and been crowned there.

When

When the Turks had been drove from it, this Prince hearing of Gerard's Humanity and Charity, and the Care which the Persons who were under him had taken of the Nazarenes, at the Time that the Egyptian Caliphs were Sovereigns of Judea, thought it would be equally glorious and pious in him to affift those who spent their Lives in such good Works. He accordingly was extremely munificent to them, gave them the Name of Hospitallers, and ordered them to wear black Clothes, on which was a white Crofs, with eight Points, fuch as are now worn by the Knights of Malta. These Hospitallers afterwards made the three Vows common to the Friars in general; and engaged themselves, by a fourth, to receive, to entertain, and defend all fuch Nazarene Pilgrims as should visit Ferusalem. From that Time they began to become military; and were often obliged to fight for the Security of the Roads. and that of pious Travellers. A great many Perfons of Diffinction imagined that they might enter into the Order of Knights Hospitallers, their Profesfion being very honourable; fo that, by infenfible Degrees, they found themselves metamorphosed into Knights. After that the Nazarenes had been drove out of Jerusalem by the Turks, they retired first to Acre, and afterwards to the Kingdom of Cyprus, where an Afylum was allowed them by Guy of Lufignan, the King of the Island. But now, finding themselves strong enough to attempt some mighty Action, and endeavouring to fettle themselves in a Place of which they might enjoy the Sovereignty, they attacked the Saracens in the Island of Rhodes; drove them from it; and continued there in a flourishing Condition, till they were forced to abandon it to Mahommed II. and retire to Malta.

During a long Course of Years, all Persons, defirous of being admitted into the Order, must ex-

" mitted

hibit fuch Proofs of their Nobility as are required by the Statutes. These Proofs confist in the fixteen Quarters; and are the fame with those exhibited by the Monarchs of France, with regard to the blue Ribbon. When it is found, in the Inquiry into a Candidate's Pedigree, that fome of his Ancestors had lessened themselves, by their marrying Women of inferior Families, fuch a Candidate may, if he has got Friends among the Knights, obtain a Brief from the Pope, or the general Chapter. A Dispensation is sometimes allowed with regard to Defects on the Mother's Side; but there must not be the least Blot or Imperfection in the Wherever this is found, male and direct Line. the Candidate is rejected, which has happened very frequently; and here follows what Historians relate concerning the Manner of the Admission of the Knights in Question: " The Proofs of their Nobi-" lity are made by Records, Contracts, Witnesses, "Epitaphs, and other Monuments. The Commissioners also make an Inquiry, whether the " Parents of the Candidate have not derogated from " their Nobility by Trade or Banking: On which "Occasion there is an Exemption for the Cities of " Genoa, Florence, Sienna, and Lucca, the Inha-" bitants of which no Ways derogate by being " Merchants. After that the Proofs have been " made, the Commissioners who were employed " for that Purpose, present the Result of their In-" quiries to the Chapter; where, if they are found " valid, they are transmitted to Malta, under the " Great-Prior's Seal. The Candidate being ar-" rived in the Island, his Proofs or Titles are exa-" mined in the Tongue or Nation to which the "Great-Prior to whom he was presented belongs; " and, if they are approved, he is received into the " Order of Knighthood; and his Antiquity is ad" mitted from that Day, provided he pays the Paffage, that is, two hundred and fifty Gold Crowns.

"The Proofs are sometimes rejected in Malta. In this Case, the Sum that had been given used formerly to be returned; but it was lately decreed

by new Ordinances, that it should remain in the

" Treafury *."

This last Ordinance, dear Monceca, appears unjust to me. Any Society, who refuse to admit a Person among them, ought not to accept of his Money. Perhaps the only Reason why the Knights act in this Manner, is, to make the Candidates more circumspect, and to oppose a Barrier to any Attempts of the particular Chapters of the Provinces, where the first Proofs are made. In fine, though it were true, that all the Statutes of the Maltefe should not be equally perfect, it must yet be confessed, that few Nations are of greater Service to all Europe. Was it not for them, the Mediterranean would be filled with Pirates; and it cannot be denied but that they secure the Trade of all Nations. Though I am a Free, Friend Monceca, and confequently contemned and hated, in the most violent Degree, by the Knights of Malta, I yet cannot forbear doing Justice to their Valour; and to own, that they are of Service to all Nazarene Traders, of what Religion foever. The English, for ever ready to condemn any Thing in which they have no Share, feem to condemn the Maltefe; but one may easily see that Pride and Vanity, Vices inherent in that People, determine their Judgments. I would ask them, whether they are always at Peace with the Sallee Men, the Algerines, the Tunisians, and Tripolitans? Should they answer in the Negative, they must confess, that it is happy for them fe

^{*} Moreri, under the Word MALTA.

that there are a confiderable Number of Gallies and Men of War, which cost them nothing, and which fecure the Paffage to all fuch Veffels as fail to Conflantinople, or any Part of the Levant. Should they affert, on the contrary, that the African Turks will never dare to engage in War with them; I can affure them, that the best Argument they have for their Opinion confifts in the Maritime Forces they are now possessed of. But may not these Forces be one Day employed in different Places? It is but very lately that they were upon the Point of oppofing those of France and Spain. Had the Algerines then declared War against them, would the English have had the Means, the Leifure and Opportunity to fend a Fleet before Algiers? The Dutch, the Rivals of the English with respect to the Empire of the Sea, but freer and more fincere than they, own ingenuoully that the Knights of Malta are very ferviceable; a Truth they theintelves daily experience. How many Times have the Algerines broke their Word with them? Are they not actually at War with the Sallee Men? Their Veffels which trade in Egypt, and in all Parts of the Archipelago, have a fecure Harbour in Malta, to put into; and where they may be guarded from the Corfairs, who are awed by the Maltese Fleet. To pretend, dear Monceca, that the Knights are not of Service to all the Traders in Europe, is afferting, that, in such Forests as are most infested by Highwaymen, it is of no Signification for the Government to post a certain Number of People to scare them, and, by that Means, to clear the Roads of them.

If the Merchants are obliged to the Maltefe, all Persons, of what Country soever, who love the polite Arts, are no less obliged to them, their Island being a Bulwark, which secures Italy from the Enterprises of the Turks. The Design of Charles V.

in giving the Knights Malta, was to fecure the Tranquillity of that Island, as well as that of his Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The English who naturally love the polite Arts, and who have carried the Improvement of the Sciences to fo exalted a Pitch, ought, though at so great a Distance from Italy, to use their Endeavours with regard to its Prefervation; and to call to Mind, that it was the Mother of the noble Arts, which it poured from its Bosom over all Europe; and that it still possesses a numberless Multitude of Beauties and Wonders, which ought to be defended, protected and preserved, by all who think it glorious to speak in a Manner different from the Vulgar. Though I am a Jew, and brought up in the Hatred of the Nazarene Principles, I yet would defend, if it lay in my Power, St. Peter's Church against the Attacks of the Turks. " How! would I fay to myfelf, shall the finest Edi-" fice in the World, an Edifice that contains the " Works of the greatest Men, be destroyed by the 66 Fury of a barbarous People! Although the Deity " forbids me to engage in the Quarrels of the In-" fidels, it yet does not command me to approve of the Demolition of the noblest Monuments, " fuch as are the greatest Honour to human Nature. " It is not the Work of Raphael, as a Nazarene, " which I defend; but the Work of Raphael, as a " Man, and a Man superior to all the rest in his

" love and honour them, are all Brethren." Fare thee well, dear Monceca, live contented and happy; and let not the Prejudices of thy native Country or Religion prevent thy applauding what-

" Art. If the Arts and Sciences are of all Coun-" tries and all Religions, those who cultivate, who

ever is praise-worthy.

Malta, the -LET-

LETTER CXCVI.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conftantinople.

HE French, dear Isaac, have a Word in their Language, which authorifes the greatest Impertinences; gives one a Right to condemn such Things as are most approved, and brings those who make Use of them into Vogue. Thou wilt easily suppose that this Word must be often in the Mouth of Fops and Coxcombs. And indeed they employ it on all Occasions; and Tafte (for this is the mighty Word) is generally introduced in Conversations, however ridiculous they may be. If a Man tires all who hear the Account he gives of his Adventures, he does this to imitate Persons of Taste. If another speaks in incoherent Expressions; if he muses, whiftles, or fings, it is still Taste that requires him to behave in that Manner. If a Nobleman crouds his Cabinet with Pictures, the Figures of which do not discover either Dignity in the Composition, or Comeliness in the Drawing; and prefers them to the Compositions of Raphael and Titian; it is still Tafe that does all this. Formerly ignorant Persons used to esteem Painting without Understanding the Art: But it is otherwise in this Age: Taste bids us prefer the Knick-knacks of Watteau and Lancret to the noble Compositions of Carrache and Tintoret. If a Fop contemns the Arts and Sciences, and those who cultivate them; if he condemns, without having ever read them, all the Greek and Latin Authors,

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thors, it is Taste makes him pronounce so solid a Decision: It is that which informs him, without Study or Care, that all Men, during two thousand Years, were Fools, for esteeming a Set of Pedants, or Creatures who wrote nothing but Trisles.

or Creatures who wrote nothing but Trifles.

Taste supposes true Wit to consist in a certain Cr-

der of the Words, which present nothing except Sounds. But then these Sounds are so soft, these Words put together in so singular and extraordinary a Manner, that a Writer must have a particular Talent to excel in that Art. Those who have attained to Persection in this Particular, despise the great Orators of Greece and Rome; and consider them only as Persons of heavy Parts, who indeed offered Reasons that were not quite intolerable; but then, that their Expressions were so extremely low and vulgar, that it would have been impossible for

their Contemporaries to understand them.

But Fops and Coxcombs are not the only Persons who think and express themselves in so judicious a Manner. A great Number of Writers are also of this Opinion; and a Book was lately published in this Country, in which it is afferted, that Cicero is filled with bombalt Expressions and coarse Jokes; that he frequently offers nothing but low, trifling Images to his Readers; and that had there been any Persons of Taste in the Senate, he would have found but few Panegyrists. His Auditors had less Tafte than he. Gato was a Pedant, and Hortensius a mere Trifler. These two Words, Friend Isaac, are employed by this Writer, who doubtless is one of the Men who possesses, in the highest Degree, that Tafte, to which we are indebted for the Knowledge of so many excellent Things. In the very Title of his Book, he informs his Readers of the Benefits they may expect to meet with from his Work; he intitling it, An Esay, bistorical and critical, on Talte

Taste *; that is, in the modern Language, A Disfertation in which it is proved, by History and Philosophy, that the Ancients were a Parcel of ignorant Greatures; that foreign Nations have not common Sense; and that true Wit is confined to Paris, where only true

Taste is found.

Thou possibly mayest imagine, dear Isaac, that, interpreting the Title above-mentioned in this Manner, I ascribe to the Author what he himself never wrote: But I will affure thee it is otherwise, I expreffing only in few Words what he has faid very much at large. Is not France vaftly happy in giving Birth to Children who are fo zealous of its Glory? Thrice propitious Nation! in producing Genius's whose Instructions are so just and useful? To what Purpose are Locke and Leibnitz? They are only a taffeless Set of Authors, who are able to prefent their Countrymen with Notions as gross and as useless to England, as those of Cicero to ancient Rome. But a Writer, such as Abbé Cartaud de la Villate, is a Hero in the Republic of Letters, born to improve the Tafte of all Persons to whom Nature has denied it.

To wave all Pleasantry, good Isaac, thou canst not conceive the Height to which some French Authors carry their Folly and Extravagance. They seem resolved, not only totally to destroy the Sciences in their respective Countries, but likewise to make their Countrymen contemptible in the Eyes of Europe, from the Judgment that must necessarily be formed of those who are so simple and ignorant as to approve of the Books which are daily printed in Paris. Men of true Learning content themselves with despising such Writers, without giving themselves the Trouble to ridicule themselves. How-

^{*} Printed at Paris, by Brault, in 1736, 12mo.

ever, they are greatly in the Wrong: For many People look upon their Silence as their acquiefcing with the Maxims inferted in those bad Books; and that Persons of little or no Genius, such as set up for the Mode, and are fond of fingular Opinions, adopt the Sentiments of those pitiful Scribblers, and do infinite Prejudice, not only to the Republic of Letters, but even to all the French, who are thought to be upon the Point of reverting to a Barbarity like

that of the Goths and Vandals.

And, indeed, what will Foreigners think, when they peruse most of the Books published in this Age? They are but so many Novels, the best of which are fit only to entertain a few Fops and filly Women. When these Romances are well writ, and in a simple and natural Style, such, in a Word, as suits Pieces of this Kind, we ought not to inveigh against them for being so very numerous, fince, if they do no great Good, they do do no great Harm. But may we not exclaim in the most fevere Terms against such as seem written in no other View but to corrupt and spoil the French Tongue; to accustom Persons to employ fustian Expressions; to teach them to be unintelligible to their Readers; in fine, to injoin them to present nothing to the Mind but an empty Parcel of Words, the Connexion of which is amazing; and the Inquiring after the Meaning of which gives as much Trouble, as a Commentator has to explain some difficult Passages in an Author who wrote two or three thousand Years before him? It is to apologife for, and even defend, Works as pernicious as these, that we see Pieces daily published like those of Abbé Cartaud; Writers, who, to give the greater Currency to Nonienfe, and the falle Thoughes of these pretended Persons of Tafte, infolently condemn and inveigh against ancient Authors in general, and all fuch as have formed themfelves

selves upon their Models. Perhaps Cicero, Virgil, Homer, Demosthenes, &c. could never have been blamed in these latter Ages, had not Des Marets, Perrault, La Motte, and such-like, been approved. Not but these Authors had some Genius, and even. Merit; and deserved Praise on many Accounts. But then, in doing Justice to them on one Hand, it would have been necessary, on the other, to oppose the Evil which they attempted to introduce into the Republic of Letters. We then should not have been pessered with that Posse of bad Writers, who, imitating only the Singularities in the Style and Manner of thinking of Fontenelle and La Motte, and not having Genius enough to imitate such Things as are just and praise-worthy, intirely destroy

polite Literature.

Is it possible, for Instance, for a Writer to go to a more ridiculous Excess in this Respect than Abbé Cartaud de la Villatte has done? This Author. who fets up for one of the Directors of Tafle; who declares that Herodotus's Diction is like that of a drunken Man; that Thucydides has several effential Errors; that the Odes of Horace have not a certain Roundness which ought to be in a well connected Piece; compares the Genius of the Italians to the Capers of an Opera-dancer; and, indeed, the Words he employs are truly worthy of that Comparison. They are as follow, dear Isaac, and will give thee an Idea of the Style and Manner of Writing of the Adversaries of the Ancients: Nature is able to raise itself to any Tone or Pitch, when properly exercised and regulated in its Infancy. Nevertheless it sometimes anticipates Education. It formed the Genius of the Italians for Sallies and Cascades, as it formed Mademoiselle Camargo for high Dances. They see a shining Thought break through the Midst VOL. V.

of the Horrors of Despair, as we see, in the Nighttime, an Ignis fatuus on a Sea that is going to be very stormy *. It must be owned, dear Isaac, that a Man, who writes with fo refined an Air, has Reafon to treat Cicero, as an unpolished and inspired Would this Roman have been fo very witty as to compare Nature to a Harpficord? Would he have said, that she can raise herself to any Tone or Pitch? Would he have found out the Secret to discover an Affinity between the Sallies of the Italians and the high Dances of Camargo? Would he have hit upon so delicate an Expression as that of Cascade? Can any Expression be in a finer Taste than that of Cascades of the Mind? What strange Images does this offer to the Imagination? Methinks I fee all the good Sense of the poor Italians precipitate itself, like the Waters of a Torrent, over craggy Rocks; and I perceive, whilft I am writing this, that the Strength of this Expression is fo great that it almost raises me above myself, and fuggests to me some Thoughts worthy the Fustian and Nonfense of the Directors of Taste. What Person could read, without Emotion, the last Phrase I quoted to thee? They see a shining Thought break through the Midst of the Horrors of Despair, as we see, in the Night-time, an Ignis fatuus on a Sea that is going to be very flormy? It would be imposfible for a Writer to express himself with greater Force and Energy. The Horrors of Despair. Here we have the Great, the Horrible, the Frightful: and, by one of those Touches reserved for good Taste, this Great, this Horrible, this Dreadful, are placed along with the Sprightly and the Wanton. They see a shining Thought break. This is the Sprightly; through the Midst of the Horrors of Deit

fpair, here we have the Dreadful. Was it not with Reason that a modern Author said, that it very frequently happens in the Compositions of the Writers of this Age, that two Words are greatly surprised to see themselves coupled together? This had never happened to them ever since they had been invented; and they never expect to meet together more.

Another unhappy Circumstance in this Passage is, the Author has there fallen into a Fault with which the Directors of Taste have strongly reproached Homer. Thou knowest very well that Perrault has frequently exclaimed against the Comparisons used by the Poets just mentioned, and which he calls Long-tailed Comparisons; and that of the Genius of the Italians, with an Ignis fatuus on a Sea that is going to be very stormy, seems to me not to be Short-tailed, to employ the technical Term. true, indeed, that Homer, as a Poet, ought to be pardoned, for having endeavoured to fill his Book with pleasing Images which are a great Ornament to it: But this is very naturally employed by Authors who write on Hiftory and Philosophy. Abbé Cartaud, according to the Maxims of Taste, might introduce, in his Historical and Philosophical Esfay, fuch Flowers as Homer ought not to have brought into a Poem. It even was just in him to reject the most judicious Comparisons of the Ancients, and to employ those of an extraordinary Kind, as the following, which I shall copy here Word for Word; The Verses of Livius Andronicus are like Statues chopped from a rough Rock, covered with Moss. Thucydides and Xenophon had not Genius and Sense enough to present, to their Readers, Thoughts, the Turn of which is fo very new. Nothing but Taste can discover a Resemblance between Verses and Statues chopped out of a rough Rock covered with Moss.

Are not Persons, whose Turn of Thought is so very refined and natural, justly intitled to suppose Pliny's Panegyric to be in the Tafte of the Italians. and to pronounce with regard to the Merit of Virgil and Lucan? It would take up some Years to guess what the unaffected and sprightly Abbé Cartaud means, in what he fays of those Poets; and, though we were to spend ten Years in this Search, it would not be lost Time, could we only imbibe some of that Tafte of which he is the Depositary. Lucan, fays he, has something more astonishing than Virgil The Enthusiasm of Virgil seems to have been raised by the Smoke of the Incense, in the Midst of the Grimaces of the Temple; and that of Lucan feems to have been lighted up by a Thunder-bolt. Such Persons as love to guess at Riddles, and search very industrioufly for such in the Mercure Gallant, may exercise themselves some Time in inquiring what it was this Author meant. With regard to myself, I will fincerely own that, after fludying several Days, I could not for the Soul of me guess what was meant by the following Words, An Enthufiasm . . . raised by the Smoke of the Incense, in the Midst of the Grimaces of the Temple; nor what that was, which a Thunderbolt lighted up. As this, in all Probability, is a new Species of Rhetoric, invented by the Directors of Tafte, I imagined, as I had no other Principles of Eloquence but those which I borrowed from Quintilian, who is but a pitiful Ancient, that it would not be decent in me to attempt to discover Secrets which are referved only for Persons of Taste. If thou canft find out what I am not able to understand, I befeech thee, Friend Isaac, to let me partake of thy Discoveries. But alas! thou, as well as myfelf, art an ignorant Foreigner, born in Error, and deprived for ever of Taste. I therefore advise thee to forbear inquiring after Things which it will be impossible

impossible for thee to understand. Remember only, as a Consolation for being born with a Genius, so very mean, and so far beneath that of the Doctors of Tafte, that of a Clarke and a Ditton, &c. are the Companions of thy ill Fortune, Thefe are Writers, according to Cartand, who publish nothing but Conjectures, and do not inform their Readers of any Thing new. A Locke, a Newton, and a Marsham deserve indeed some Encomiums, but then these ought to be given with some Restrictions. There are even, among the French, some Persons who have no more Taste than Thee. Boileau, for Instance, was a Person of a very melancholy Turn of Mind, subject to Vapours, and who had usurped the Distatorship of Parnassus. One of the Faults of his Slander was its being wanting in Delicacy and Truth. His Compositions were correst, but harsh, and without Fire. Since those, dear Isaac, who have taken Possession of Taste, rank us with a Locke and a Boileau, let us no longer confider ourselves as unfortunate.

To be serious. I shall conclude my Letter with bewailing fincerely the State into which it is very probable polite Literature will foon fall in France, at the same Time that it scems to re-assume a new Strength in England.

Enjoy thy Health, Friend Isaac; live contented and happy; and laugh, as I do, at this pretended

good Tafte.

Paris, the -

LETTER CXCVII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Constantinople.

Informed thee, dear Isaac, in my last Letter, of the great Insluence which Taste *, as it is call-

ed, has in France.

It has as much Power over the polite Arts. Painting is in as much Danger as polite Literature: And indeed the Pictures of Pouffin, le Brun and le Sueur, are not much fought after in this Age; and fuch Artists as attempt to paint in the Style of those great Genius's, and endeavour to exhibit, in their Compositions, that Majesty and Harmony which are the Soul of designing, are much less followed than those who paint such Pictures as formerly would not have been thought worthy of an Antichamber. Wattau was the Marivaux, and Lancret the la Motte in Painting. These two Painters not having Genius enough to imitate the great Models, and refolving not to be mere Imitators, endeavoured to invent a new Taste. They made Choice of fuch a one as they imagined would please their Nation which was already degenerated, and fond of nothing but Trifles. They painted Scaramouches, Harlequins, Mezetins, and an hundred other such grotesque Subjects. To the Scandal of common Sense, these bastard, these ridiculous Pro-

^{*} The Author means a Love for Trifles, and a bad Tafte. See the foregoing Letter.

ductions were received and approved; and, what is worse, they were preferred to the Compositions of the greatest Genius's, and those of the most excellent Painters. This bad Taste, being thus encouraged by the Great, afterwards prevailed among Persons of a lower Condition; and at this Time, Apartments are hung only with Knicknacks, which are like so many Fans rather than true Pictures.

Most Painters, in order to get off their Works, have been forced to row with the Stream; to quit in a great Measure their first Manner, and to give into the new one; and le Moine who, in another Age, would perhaps have equalled le Sueur, commonly paints only fuch trifling fort of Pieces. Vanlo and Caze, having more Courage, are now the only Persons who have resisted the general Corruption; and would not dishonour their Name, nor cast an Odium on their Reputation. They have not deviated in the least from good Taste; nor have introduced into their Works Sacks and Hooppetticoats, instead of Draperies in a true pittoresque Tafte; nor given us affected Turns of the Face, instead of Heads whose Air is graceful and noble. However, they paid dear for this Resolution and Love of Glory, they gaining much less Money than the other Painters, and their Merit being rewarded only with the Applause of such as are true Judges,

All Foreigners who come to Paris are greatly furprised at the Progress which bad Taste has made since the Death of Lewis XIV. They can scarce think it possible that the French, after having been so justly fond of the Compositions of le Brun, Poussin, Bourdon, Jouvenet and Boulogne, should, on a sudden, idolise so much those of Watteau, Lancret, Paters, and such Puppet-shew Painters:

And they recover from their Aftonishment only by reflecting that the French, and particularly the Parisans, have a strange Fondness for Knicknacks, and

Novelties however trifling.

It was not owing to a Dearth of good Painters that occasioned this new Taste to gain so much Vogue; People not being forced to receive it, because there was no Artist living who painted in the ancient Tafte. There are now some excellent Painters in Paris; Caze, the two Vanlo's, and fome others may be confidered as great Painters. It perhaps will be objected, that they do not come up to le Poussin and le Sueur. This I grant; but, though a Poet may not be as great a Genius as Homer, he nevertheless may make a considerable Figure in the Commonwealth of Learning. Giulio Romano and the rest of Raphael's Disciples did not possess as great Talents as their Master; nevertheless, the Italians do Justice to their Merit; and, because they did not equal the first Designer in the Universe, their Countrymen did not give into a new Tafte, infinitely more remote from Perfection than the Works of those Painters.

An English Gentleman whom I met with the other Day at a Picture-shop, took Notice of a Circumstance which must necessarily mortify the French not a little. After examining a great Number of Pictures, representing Scenes of the Italian Comedy, Dances and Country-wakes; What is your Opinion, says he, of all these fantastical Pieces? I am associated, says he, that they should be in so much Vogue. This makes me apprehensive that Painting will be absolutely lost in this Country. Your Fears, replied I, are extremely just. A great many People pretend that, twenty Years hence, two of Raphael's Pictures will be bartered for one of Watteau's Fans.

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How extraordinary foever fuch an Exchange may be thought, yet several Wagers have been laid, in England, on that Occasion. Those who ground their Affertions on the Imposhibility of fuch a Circumstance, say, that it would be absurd to suppose, that Men who are not utterly void of Sense and Reason, should ever carry their Folly to such a Height. But those who affirm that the Thing will certainly happen, produce an Example which feems to affure them that they will not lose their Wager. " If any Man, fay those People, had afferted, fifty "Years ago, that the French would write Books " which should contain nothing but a Parcel of " Words fantastically brought together; that they " would maintain these Works were persect in " their Kind; and that the Writings of Virgil, " Tully, Ovid, Livy, Tacitus, &c. are trifling " Rhapfodies; fuch an Opinion would have been " thought a mad one: And yet this has happen-Raphael may confequently meet with Vir-" gil's Fate; and Watteau with that of Terraffon " and Cartaud de la Villate. When a Frenchman, " added this English Gentleman, endeavours to " prove, that la Motte's Works are superior to " those of the Ancients, methinks I meet Orlando " Furiofo, dragging his dead Horse after him; be-" stowing the highest Encomiums upon him; forc-" ing me-to barter a living one for it; and telling " me, in Confidence, that the Horse in Quession " has no other Defect than his being dead. Me-"thinks the Admirer of la Motte tells me, in the " fustian Language of his Hero: My Odes, if you " except about fifteen of them, have not that Fire " and Harmony which is the Characteristic of that kind of Poem; but then, on the other Hand, they bave a periodical and soporific Roundness, which is of a great Benefit to those who want Sleep. My

"Fables are written in a Strain that was unknown " till I gave it Vogue. The Readers are therein " taught to give the most fustian Names to the most " common Things. A Cabbage is no longer a Cabbage, but a Kitchen-garden Phænomenon; and " a Dial is called a Solar-register. Are not such Expressions infinitely preferable to all the coarse, an-" tiquated Beauties of Homer? May not you na-" turally suppose, continued the English Gentleman, that Persons, who prefer such Impertinencies to " the real Beauties of the Greeks and Romans, will one Day set Lancret and Watteau above Raphael and Correggio? With regard to myfelf, methinks " there is nothing extraordinary in the Wager I " spoke to you of; and I am so much surprised at the Progress which bad Taste makes in France, " that I am of Opinion it may go to the utmost " Lengths."

It were to be wished, dear Isaac, that the Reflections of this Englishman were known by the French, and that these might make a proper Advantage of them. All who love the Arts and Sciences are concerned in their Preservation. Some exalted Genius, like that of Boilean, should endeavour to stop the Progress of bad Taste, and oppose the evil

Effects which flow from it.

To return, worthy Isaac, to the Painters. Those who excel in Portraits, have not fallen from the Glory of Titian and Vandyke; and as People have not yet taken it into their Heads to be painted in the Character of Harlequin or Columbine, the Taste of Watteau has not yet debauched Largilliere, Regaud, or de Troyes. The Works of those great Painters are superior to all, of that Kind, produced at this Time in Europe; and the most samous Portrait-painters, whether of Italy, Germany, or Holland, and particularly England, are but Artists of

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an indifferent Genius, compared to those I just now mentioned to thee. It is not certain that France will enjoy this Advantage long: for should some Court-Lady, or some lordly Fop cause themselves to be painted in the Character of Mezetin or Marinette, the whole Kingdom of France would be instantly inchanted with fo noble an Idea, and ridiculously metamorphosed into an Italian Theatre. Good Tafte, therefore, with regard to Portraits, stands upon a tottering Foundation, and even begins to decay visibly. And, indeed, how ridiculous is it for a Fontenelle or a Sir Riehard Steele to be drawn in their Caps! Those Airs of Familiarity are no Way pleasing to the Public, before whom it becomes every one to appear with the utmost Decency. Formerly, both Ladies and Gentlemen had the Frenzy to get themselves painted in the Character of Friars and Nuns; fo that nothing was every-where feen but Marquisses in Cowls and Monkish Coats, and Dutcheffes in Vails and Stomachers. Happily this Mode did not last long; but perhaps a more ridiculous one may arise To-morrow.

Sculpture also still makes a pretty good Figure in this Country. If there are no Sculptors who equal Puget and Girardon, such as distinguish themselves in that Art, endeavour, at least, to imitate those great Masters; and their Works, though not perfect, do yet boast very great Beauties. In all Probability, as Sculpture is less dependent on Mode than Painting, it will not be so apt to fall into bad Taste. It is not, however, impossible for the Statues of Pantaloons and Punchinello's to be received in all Gardens; and more than one Attempt has been made to throw out the Venus of Medicis for Columbine, and the Farnese Hercules for Scaramouch. This ridiculous Folly, indeed, was not successful; however, a Thing that was not well received at one

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Time, may pass current at another. In this Case, instead of the just Proportions which the Sculptors search after in their Figures, they will endeavour only to give them the most extravagant wry Faces. They will lose the Idea of beautiful Nature, and grotesque Statues will be succeeded by monstrous Figures, such as those formerly produced by Gothic Ignorance. When once the polite Arts begin to decline, there seems to be a secret Force which drags them along, and destroys them totally. Tully observed very justly, that, as all the Sciences bear a near Relation to one another, the Instant any of them is preyed upon by bad Taste, the rest soon feel the contagious Effects of it. The same may be said of the polite Arts.

Music, Friend Isaac, is ulmost as much depraved as Painting in France. An Attempt has been made to unite the Italian Taste with that of the French; and by this Means neither good Italian nor good French Music were made. The new Opera's exhibited daily are vastly inferior to those of Lully and Campra. The French, spite of their prevailing Passion for Novelty, are obliged to return to the ancient Pieces. Phaeton, Theseus, Armida, &c. charm the Public daily, and all are delighted with them. Pyramus and Thise, the Elements and the Interlude of the Muses, are applicated by none but the Lovers of Novelty, who yet own that Lully was superior to

the Musicians of the present Age.

Instrumental Music is much more persect in Paris than vocal; but we ought not to consider it as an Art which owes its Progress to the French. These only imitated the Italians; and, in order to resemble their Model the more, they have even abandoned the French Taste. Le Clerc's Sonata's differ vastly more from Lully's Taste and Manner than from

from that of Corelli. If those Musicians who have composed Pieces for the Violin, had imitated the Composers of the modern Opera's, and blended in every Part the French Taste with the Italian, they would have produced very bad Compositions; whereas, so long as they shall continue to follow the Plan they have prescribed to themselves, they will come very near to the great Masters, and perhaps equal them. There nevertheless is Reason to fear, that they will be forced to change their Taste, as many Persons begin to criticise their Works, only because they are too much in the Italian Taste, that is, be-

cause they are too good.

The French affert, that Dancing is carried to the highest Pitch of Perfection among them. Foreigners, on the contrary, pretend that we are not to call what we fee, on the Opera-stage at Paris, Dancing, but Capering. Some Persons in this Country are also of the same Opinion, they saying, that Prevot dances, that Camargo jumps, and Mariette makes wry Faces. According to these People, there must be in all Things, in order to make them please Perfons of Judgment, an Air of Decency and Modesty. A Woman who dances like a Jumper or a Vaulter, how furprifingly foever the may fly, goes out of her Character, and causes more Surprise than Satisfaction. The Dancing of Prevot gave Pleasure; Camargo's Flying raised Astonishment; but this Astonulhment does not raise that fost Attention in the Mind, nor leave that fecret Content in the Heart. with which Prevot's Graces inspired it.

Such, Friend Isaac, is the State of the polite Arts in France. Thou mayest judge how greatly they are decayed within these twenty Years, and the Risk they run of decreasing perpetually. A Circumstance which may console the Lovers of them is, that, tho' they decay in Paris, they improve in some other Countries.

Countries. The Arts and Sciences refemble Nature, the apparent Losses of which give Rise to new Productions. The English, the Germans, &c. improve from the Misfortunes of the French, as these improved by those of the Italians. When Petrarch, Boccace, Aristotle, Tasso, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Correggio and Titian flourished, there was no one in Paris could be compared to those great Artists. Italians, some Time after this, had but Persons of an indifferent Genius among them, whereas there then flourished in France, Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Moliere, Mallebranche, &c. At the Time we are speaking of, the Eeglish had not yet seen their Sir Isaac Newton, their Locke, their Addison, their Pope, They have had them; and the French now begin to have none but a Partaud, a Beauchamp, a Carfait, and a Moubi. This Circulation of the Arts and Sciences ought to give the highest Satisfaction to those who consider it as of all Countries, and who attach themselves to what is useful, wherever they meet with it. A Frenchman, who has this Way of Thinking, enjoys, in the midst of Paris, all the Advantages found in Countries where the Sciences are carried to the highest Degree of Perfection: But few are able to make so judicious an Use of their Knowledge, so mighty is the Force of Prejudice.

Adieu, dear Isauc; live contented and happy; and be fond of such Writings only as are written

with the foundest Judgment.

Paris, the -

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LETTER CXCVIII.

AARON MONCECA to ISAAC ONIS, a CARAITE, formerly a Rabbi at Conftantinople.

AFTER a Multitude of Difficulties, I at last have ended, dear Isaac, all the Affairs I had in Paris. To-morrow I shall set out for Marseilles, where I expect to meet with a Ship ready to sail for the Imperial City. I therefore shall not be able to write to thee till I am arrived at Constantinople, where I hope to meet with Jacob Brito. By the last Letters he wrote to me, I found that he was

going to that City very foon.

After a troublesome but instructive Voyage, we shall both enjoy, in our native Country, the charming Satisfaction of being among our Relations, our Friends, and Countrymen. We will endeavour to improve by the Reslections we made on the Manners, the Customs, and Character of the several-Nations we have visited. These will be an ample Field to us, and greatly contribute to our Improvement in Philosophy. We ourselves are now sensible of the great Lengths to which Mankind carry their Prejudices, and have seen the sad Effects of them in such Nations as were the most learned and civilised.

Before I set out from Paris, one would have concluded that Heaven thought sit to give me a final Instruction, stronger than any I had yet met with; and which sets, in its sull and clearest Light, Knavery, Insincerity, Superstition, Enthusiasm, Weakness, Politics, Fury, and Revenge. All these disferent Passions, how opposite soever they may appear, are united on this Occasion; and had I spent but one Day in Paris, and been Witness to an Adventure which happened a few Days since, this would have been Reason enough for me to moralise, all the Remainder of my Life, on the Blindness of the common People, and the Insincerity of those by whom they are led.

I have frequently spoken to thee of the Molinists, the Jansenists, and the St. Paris of the latter. The present Adventure relates to this pretended Saint; and, in order to give thee a perfect Idea of it, it may be proper to put thee in mind of the opposite Steps taken, upon his Account, by these two turbulent

Parties.

The Jansenists, oppressed by the Authority both Ecclefiaftical and Civil, and endeavouring to raife their drooping Faction by some conspicuous Action. thought proper to have Recourse to Miracles, in order to keep up the Weakness of their Devotees, and win over new Adherents. They were no Ways fuccessful, at first, with la Fosse, a Woman troubled with a Bloody-Flux; but Abbé Paris was of infinitely more Advantage to them. He was one of their Deacons, whose Life and Death were edifying; for which Reason it was judged, that he would be of great Use to forward their Defign. They therefore, by their private Authority, placed him in Heaven; and, by their own Power, not only ascribed to him the Gift of Miracles, but even caused him to work great Numbers. The common People, who are always stupid, and for that Reason always cheated, immediately fwallowed down this Novelty, ran in Crouds to this new Saint, and were perpetually imploring his Assistance.

The Molinists, fearing that such an Abuse would be attended with fatal Consequences, did not fail

to oppose it with the utmost Vigour. "If we per"mit, faid they, our Enemies thus to acquire a
"Right of seating themselves in Heaven, and of
"working Miracles, we shall no longer have an
"Opportunity of exclaiming against them as He"retics. It is therefore absolutely necessary, for the
"Sake of Molinism, and especially for the Interest
of the Jesuits, that Abbé Paris should be considered as a Subject of Beelzebub, and a Fiend of
Hell; and, for this Reason, we must affert round"ly that all his Virtues were so many Grimaces,
and mere Juggler's Tricks." This made them
exclaim against him every-where.

In the mean Time the Jansenists afferted as strongly, on the other Hand, that he every Day wrought the most surprising Miracles; that he cured such Diseases as were otherwise incurable; that he restored Sight to the Blind, Hearing to the Deaf, Speech to the Dumb, &c. and that he wrought all these Miracles, by causing the diseased Persons to dance, jump, and caper, in the same Manner as Musicians, in

Italy, cure the Bite of the Tarantula.

The Molinists exclaimed strongly against this grotesque Manner of restoring Health. They sirmly asserted, that it was impossible for these Miracles to be real, or else, that they were the Work of the Devil; Abbot Paris making Men Fools and frantic, before he restored them to their Health; and this Manner of working a Cure, by Jumping and Howling, very much resembled the Agonies into which Persons possessed to the Devil are thrown.

However, the Jansenists, spite of these Objections, pursued their first Design. They always strongly afferted, that the Deity was at Liberty to act as he thought proper; that it did not become weak Mortals to endeavour to search into his Views; and that St. Paris, knowing the great Fondness the French

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have for Shews and Dancing, wrought fuch Miracles as were apt to excite the Curiofity of the People, and make an Impression on their Minds. " As the " ancient Miracles are now grown out of Use, " faid they, they would not come into much Vogue " in this Time; and it is very furprifing, as the " Molinists imagine, that St. Ignatius made Use of "Virgil's Verses, to cure Persons possessed of the " Devil; they * should think it strange that St. Pa-" ris should employ some of la Camargo's unnatural " Steps +, and some of Allard's ! Distortions. " must be confessed, either that the Miracles wrought " by the Saints among the Molinists are brought a-" bout by the Affistance of Hell; or, it must be " granted, that the beatified Jansenists have no Occasion for this Assistance, since the Saints of both " Parties equally make Use of extraordinary Me-" thods to restore Health."

But these Arguments made no Impression on the Molinists, who still continue to inveigh strongly against Abbot Paris; while the Jansenists, on the other Hand, are incessantly publishing new Miracles; and the weak Vulgar, who are made the Dupes of any Person who will attempt to impose upon them, have blindly followed the Ideas which the Directors of Contortions inspired them with. Numberless Multitudes of People were therefore crouding perpetually about Abbot Paris's Grave. Some howled in the strangest Manner, whilst others danced and capered; and some contented themselves only with being the Spectators of these Extravagancies; and the unworthy Principals of all this Farce, after disturbing, in this Manner, the Minds of those unhappy

^{*} See Letter LVIII.

⁺ A Female Dancer in the Opera.

A famous Vaulter and Rope-Dancer.

Victims of Superstition, enjoyed the exquisite Pleafure of seeing their Impostures triumph, even before

the Eyes of their afflicted Enemies.

However, they were not forgetful of their own They flattered themselves that the wild Extravagancies of those who made all these Contortions would intirely destroy the Credit of Abbé Paris, in the Minds of all Perfons who should make any Use of their Reason. Nevertheless, they were deceived in their Expectations. Superflition and Enthusiasm got, from the Vulgar, among the Great; and Multitudes flocked to St. Paris's Grave, in order to obtain the Favour of Heaven by his Intercef-The holy Jansenist acted, with regard to them, much after the same Manner as Astrologers, who, amidst the great Number of Falsities vented by them, fometimes happen to hit upon Truths. Thus, among a vast Number of diseased Persons who found no Relief, some were found who, either by Time, by mere Chance, and possibly by the Force of their Imaginations, were cured of their Diseases.

This was sufficient to give a wonderful Reputation to the Patron of the Caperers; and, from that Instant, the most surprising Cures were ascribed to him, though he generally failed on those Occasions. When his Adherents were rallied on that Account, and they were asked why Abbot Paris did not cure all Persons alike, they made the Answer that is given in all the Religions where the Belief of Miracles is established, viz. that those who did not receive any Benefit, were not endued with the Faith requisite on such Occasions. But whence comes it to pass, would they add, that Multitudes have been so long disturbed without receiving any Benefit? This also was imputed to their Want of Faith. By that Means they were able to answer Objections of every Kind; and there-

by the common People are made to fwallow down

the groffest Absurdities.

Thus the Principles of the Jansenists grew into greater Credit by the Favour of these Miracles, which grieved the Molinists exceedingly. They were afraid that, should the Reputation of Abbot Paris increase, it would be impossible for them to cause to be received, as Articles of Faith, two Opinions of which they are extremely tenacious: First, That the Roman Pontiff reasons with Judgment, even when he vents the greatest Absurdities; and, secondly, That his Slipper is facred, and ought to be humbly kiffed, even by the greatest Monarchs in the Universe. For, ever fince the pretended Miracles of Abbot Paris, his Slippers were become the Rivals of those of the Pope of Rome. The Jansenists afferted, that the Water in which they had been dipped, cured Diseases of every Kind; and the Credit of the Parisian Slipper began to ruin that of the supreme Pontiff. Now, in this Contest of Power between the two Slippers, as the Jansenists had artfully got the Start, and prejudiced the Minds of the Vulgar in their Favour, their Interest seemed to be that of Heaven.

The Molinists therefore, sensible of the Error they had committed, resolved, at last, to employ Force, to check the Progress of the pretended Miracles of the Jansenists. For this Purpose they had Recourse to the subaltern Pontists, over whom they have a mighty Ascendant. The latter represented to the Court, that it was greatly prejudicial to the Interest of Religion to permit, in the Midst of Paris, and under the Monarch's Eye, Fraud and Imposture to triumph in this Manner; and that it would be for the Interest of the Government, and even for that of the Christian Religion, to punish, with great Severity, a Parcel of People who somented a Set of dangerous Errors, which led directly to Enthusias.

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The Ministry, upon these Remonstrances, ordered the Gate of the Churchyard in which Abbot Paris's Grave was deposited, to be walled up, by that Means to prevent the Populace from flocking to it.

This has been done fome Time: However, it did not lessen the Number of the Enthusiasts; the Tatters and Rags of the holy Jansenist, the Water of the Well belonging to the House he lived in, the Bits of Earth taken from his Grave, and feveral other devout Dainties of the same Kind, having contributed but too much to keep up the Spirit of Folly and Superstition. Nevertheless the Extravagancies of the Partifans of the pretended Saint have been carried to such Lengths, that several Persons of a certain Rank have been undeceived; and in Proportion as the Reputation of this Abbot, ever fince the Shutting up of the Churchyard where his Grave lay, increased in Credit with the Vulgar, it diminished very much in the Minds of People who were less prejudiced. Some Books published by the Jansenists containing the Life of the bleffed Paris, with the History and ridiculous Miracles of the principal Enthufialts, have now completely opened the Eyes of all Persons who were not quite out of their Senses; and the Jesuits did not fail to embrace this Opportunity, to give their Enemies a mortal Wound, and to render them highly contemptible in the Eyes of all Perfons of Judgment.

At the same Time, to make them odious to the Court, they caused their Emissaries to spread a Report, that Abbot Paris's Body was to be taken away, either miraculously, or by his Enemies. Upon this, all the Enthusiasts came forth, repeating their Caperings and Howlings; when the common People, roused by these Enthusiastic Expressions, rose up in a tumultuous Manner, slocked in Crouds to the Grave

in Question, and made a strange Tumult.

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During this Kind of Sedition, which was owing to the Knavery of the Jesuits more than to the Enthusiasm of the Jansenists, the Molinists enjoyed inexpressible Satisfaction. They were fully sensible how much the mad Extravagancies of their Enemies were advantageous to them, and how easy it would be totally to destroy them; and they are too able Politicians not to reap all the Advantages possible The Jansenists themselves seem to second their Views, nothing being better fuited to that Purpose than the vindictive Miracle of the broken Glass Windows, a mere School-Boy's Trick; and the filly Step lately taken by a Counfellor of Parliament, who represented not long fince to the King his pretended Truth demonstrated (Verité demonstrée *) and who, as a Reward for it, was thrown into the Bastile. We therefore may naturally suppose, that the Enemies of Abbot Paris will, in a short Time, have all their Wishes crowned, and that his Devotees will be despised universally.

How wide a Field is opened to us for Reflection on the Weakness of Mankind, and the Villainy of those who abuse it! What are Men, dear Isaac? Creatures formed either to deceive or be deceived. A very sew only know into what Errors their Fel-

^{*} The Truth of the Miracles wrought by the Intercession of Abbot Paris demonstrated, in Opposition to the Archbishop of Sens, by Mr. Carre' de Monigeron, a Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris: It is a large Quarto, containing about two hundred Pages, filled with Miracles equally ridiculous and chimerical; with justificatory Proofs which only prove the Enthusiasm of those on whom it is pretended that Miracles were wrought; and wit'. Copper-plates, which are so well engraved as to prove, that the Persons in Question exert their utmost Endeavours to gratify their Vanity, their Superstition, and probably their Fraud.

low-creatures are plunged. How many weak People, how many Knaves and Cheats are there in Comparison of one true Philosopher and wife Man? In all Countries there are Persons who answer to the Molinists and Jansenists in France. There are, in England, Protestants and Papists; in Spain, Priests and Friars; in Italy, Ecclefiaftics; and, in Turky, Dervises. All the Persons in Question make Use of Religion for the Compassing of their Ends; and abuse too shamefully the facred Name of the Deity, to deceive the credulous Vulgar, and give a Sanction to Things most repugnant to the Law of Nature. Why did not Heaven, dear Isaac, indulge weak Mortals fome infallible Method to discover Impostors, spite of their numberless Disguises, in the same Manner as he has favoured the Goldsmith with the Loadstone, to distinguish Gold from Copper, notwithstanding their Resemblance with regard to Colour?

Adieu, Friend Isaac; may thy Days be passed in undisturbed Tranquillity. I shall not write to thee

any more.

Paris, the



LETTER CXCIX.

AARON MONCECA to JACOB BRITO.

USTICE is exercised in France with pretty great Prudence and Wisdom. Foreigners, indeed, think that it is administered too slowly; and that the Formalities and Procedures, observed in it, give sometimes great Uneasiness to the Parties, and retard the Dispatch of their Affairs. But this Dilatoriness with which the French Judges are reproached, would perhaps be extremely useful and necessary in many Courts of Justice, wherein Dispatch, in determining the most knotty Points, afterwards gives Rife to involuntary and pernicious Errors. All Men ought to be diffident with Respect to their Abilities. Magistrates ought to be still more afraid of committing Errors, which are fo much the more dangerous in their Consequences, as they are covered with the specious Veil of Equity.

I cannot but applaud a Judge who, flow in determining, examines an Affair on all Sides, and confiders it in every Light; and, fearing Paffions and Prejudices, feeks, by mature Deliberation, and by a Form of Proceeding that appears flow, but at the fame Time prudent and wife, to keep clear of those Errors which commonly are inseparable from too

much Hafte.

Could all Contests be ended the Instant they happen, I grant that it would be excellent to do this. But But such is the Weakness of Mankind, that there are sew Contests but have two Faces, and which present them both to the Eye; and, when a Person does not examine them attentively, he runs the Hazard of falling into Error, and of mistaking Falshood for Truth.

There nevertheless is an Excess which a Magistrate ought to shun. There is a wide Difference between Indolence and a prudent Dilatoriness. When I am for having a Judge take certain Precautions before he determines, I do not mean that he should spin out a Law-suit ten Years, and suspend the definitive Sentence either through Avarice or idle Formalities. A Magistrate may not imitate the sudden Decision of a Turkish Cadi; and, yet, not copy after the avaricious and slow Method of a Norman Judge, who frequently, by the Number of needless Formalities observed by him, furnishes the Litigants with Weapons, and gives them an Opportunity of perplexing and confounding the clearest Matters. Judges sometimes do more Harm than Good to Justice. They become the Instruments which Chicanery employs to elude Truth. The Order which they observe in their Decisions is of greater Prejudice than Confusion and Irregularity. It is not but they know evidently, that fuch a Conduct is repugnant to Reason and even Equity. This they are persuaded of; and they are taught from their Infant Years. that it frequently happens, when a Man follows exactly the Rules prescribed by Law, that the highest Injustice is committed. Nevertheless, a superstitious Fondness for ill-placed Formalities, but which augments the Income of their Employments, serves. them as an Excuse, and gives a Sanction to their

That Person must be endued with good Sense and an extensive Knowledge, who can find a just Vol. V. R Medium

Medium between too great Dispatch, and a misplaced Obedience to endless Formalities. This is one of the principal Qualities that forms the experienced and equitable Magistrate. It is as much required, in him, as that of knowing how far the Rigour of the Law ought to extend, and on what Occasions he may, and even ought, to swerve from its Dictates. This last Knowledge is extremely effential, and difficult to be acquired; for a Magifrate ought not to deviate, but with the utmost Precaution, from the Laws and Ordinances which ferve as the Basis to the general Decision of Affairs. They ought to be much more facred than Formalities, the latter not having near fo much Influence, with regard to the maintaining of Order in Society. When we have Recourse simply to Equity, and abandon the written Laws, we run the Rifk of falling into Error, without being able to know our Mistakes. This Equity, which we imagine we follow, and whose Voice we fancy we hear in the inmost Recesses of our Hearts, frequently speaks in an obscure Language, which our Passions will not permit us to hear diffinelly. Any Person who looks into the Code or Digeft, finds expressly there the Will of the Legislator; but we often see only, through the Veil of Prejudices, what Rectitude feems to discover to us.

Besides, it is difficult for a Judge not to be biassed by the Sollicitations and Prayers of Persons for whom he has an Affection; for which Reason he ought, at least, to be as much upon his Guard against them, as against his Prejudices. Nothing can be of more dangerous Tendency to a Judge than Love or Friendship. If he is desirous of securing himself from those two Passions, he must have a sure Guide who may secure him from their Attacks, and incessantly suggest to him the Decree which he ought to pro-

nounce.

nounce. Now he always finds this Decree, in an exact Manner, in the Body of written Laws. Should he presume to follow any arbitrary ones, it is impossible but he must deviate from the right Path. Too many Things conspire to mislead him. It is incumbent on him to be on his Guard both against him-

felf, and against other People.

The Poor have no other Sollicitors and Pleaders but the Code and the Digeft, which always pronounce in their Favour. Whenever these are not attended to, what becomes of those ill-fated People? How will it be possible for them not to fall a Victim to the Chicaneries of Sollicitors, and the captious Arguments of Lawyers! and yet, the first Care of a Judge ought to be that of protecting the Weak from the Oppression of the Mighty. ". The " most effential Duty, fays an Author of great Reputa-" tion *, and the most serious Occupation of a " Magistrate, is, to prevent, as much as lies in " his Power, the Rich from oppressing the Poor, " and always to maintain an Equilibrium between " the Weak and the Strong. The View of most " Persons who purchase Employments in Courts of Judicature, is not that they may have an Op-" portunity of doing Justice; but they only con-" fider the Authority with which they are intrust-" ed; not remembering that they are not invested "with it, in order that they may favour the Great, and procure themselves Friends; but, on the " contrary, to oppose the Injustice of the former; " to protect those Persons whose Possession they " would unjustly feize; to fecure, from their Fury,

^{*} Amelot de la Houssaie, Remarq. Politiques & Historiques sur les Annales de Tacite, Liv. III. Tom. V. Page 192.

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"the great Number of innocent Victims, Part of whom they facrifice to their Ambition, and the rest to their Vengeance. That Man, who is desirous of becoming a Judge, ought to weigh duly these several Particulars; and in Case he does not find that he has Courage or Probity enough to be a Judge on the Terms above-mentioned, and consequently not able to be, like the Roman Cassius, the Terror of the Guilty, how exalted foever; such an one ought never to put on the judicial Robe. Erudimini, qui judicatis Terram,

" ne quando irascatur Dominus, &c."

If we were to examine, with a philosophical Eye, a great Number of Decisions, which appear just at first Sight, we should discover, with Astonishment, that a beautiful Female Pleader, a Director, a Friend or a Relation, have often more Authority than Cujas, Bartolus, and Du Moulin. Justice is commonly painted with a Veil over her Eyes. That Goddess ought not therefore to distinguish between a few and a Heathen, or between a fansenist and a Molinist. It would be happy were this the Case; but, unfortunately, that Deity, sometimes lifting up her Veil, looks asquint, and seems to be a Coquet playing at Blindman's-Buss.

Enjoy thy Health, excellent Brito, and expect

no more of my Letters,

Paris, the

LETTER CC.

ISAAC ONIS, a Caraite, an ancient Rabbi, of Constantinople, to AARON MON-CECA.

Hope, dear Monceca, that my Letter will find thee at Marfeilles. If thou maket some Stay in that City, thou mayest therein see several Things worthy of the Curiosity of Travellers, and which thou hadst not Time to consider, when thou camest into France.

Provence has given Birth to many great Men both in the Arts and Sciences. Some have had the good Fortune to be known in every Part of Europe: whilst others, though Persons of the greatest Merit, have been famous only among their Fellow-Citizens.

A Merchant of Provence, a Person of Genius and good Sense who has lived ten Years in Grand Cairo, and in whose Company I am very frequently, has spoke to me often of many illustrious Literati, who are almost unknown in the Republic of Letters, because they never published any Composition.

At the Head of these Literati he placed the late Mr. de Masauge, a Friend of the late Peiresc, whose Life is extant, written by Gassendi.

He likewise had an infinite Esteem for the late Mr. Boyer d' Aiguilles, an able Magistrate, who was deputed by the Parliament of Provence to desire the Removal of the first President*; in which

Affair he succeeded, spite of the Obstacles thrown in his Way. Tournefort has given the Elogium of this learned Gentleman, in the Beginning of his Travels; and Justice has been done to his shining Qualities, in the Antiquities of the Library of St. Genevieva. He had given an antique Sepulchre to this Library, and it has been engraved with the rest of the Curiosities sound there. This Magistrate was skilled in all the polite Arts and Sciences, and possessed every Ornament of the Mind. He had sormed a Cabinet of very sine Pictures, which were engraved under his Directions, and published; they consisting of an hundred large Plates. He himself

defigned the Frontispieces to those Volumes.

This Merchant of Provence spoke to me likewise of two Persons who are still living. The first is a noble Rhetorician, named Bougaret. He is writing the Hiftory of the illustrious Men of the Province in which he was born; and his Work will give him a Place among the most learned Men of his Country. The second (Chalamont de Visclede) has published fome Poems which have met with a very favourable Reception from the Public. This Author is as much diffinguished for his Probity and Integrity as for his Genius. Affable, humble and modest, he possesses a great Number of Qualities which are almost unknown to Men of Letters. If thou makest some Stay in Marseilles, I would advise thee to get acquainted with this valuable Man; and he doubtless will introduce thee to all Persons of Merit.

Provence, dear Monceca, has given Birth to many Persons well skilled in the polite Arts, who have made as conspicuous a Figure as the two learned Magistrates above-mentioned. Thou certainly hast heard that Puget, that samous Sculptor, was a Native of Marseilles; but thou dost not know that

ever there was such a Man as Verier. This Verier was a Disciple of Puget, and carved as many fine Pieces as his Master, but then he never quitted the Province he was born in. He did not make his Appearance on the great Theatre; he did not work for the Court; so that his Merit was known only to some of his Countrymen.

Fauchier was as great a Painter as Rigaud; and perhaps it would not be an Untruth to say that he was as noble a one as Vandike. I saw two Portraits of his Painting, which are worthy of being placed, with a peculiar Distinction, in the choicest Cabinets. This great Painter never had any Reputation; at least, it was confined wholly to his native Province,

which he never quitted.

It is not always to Merit, Friend Monceca, that we ought to ascribe the Fame a Man has got in the World, Chance often contributing greatly to it. How many illustrious Genius's, learned Men, fine Painters, great Sculptors, and excellent Architects have been unknown, for Want of meeting with some favourable Opportunity of displaying their Knowledge and Talents to all Europe. Many a Man will never be spoke of, merely because he was born in Sens or Castelane, who would have been daily honoured with the highest Elogiums, had he been so happy as to have been a Native of London, Paris, or Amsterdam, where he very probably might have made himself known.

I consider all Men as so many Players. Those who inhabit Towns which lie at a great Distance from Court, are Strollers. The Public knows nothing of them; nor would they ever hear of such Persons, unless Chance should happen to bring them

upon the Stage in Paris.

Thou doubtless hast observed, dear Monceca, in thy Travels, that there are, in all Countries, many R 4 very

very valuable Persons; and that a Man of Letters, though he may not be well known to the Public, ought not to be less esteemed on that Account. Endeavour therefore, if the contrary Winds keep thee some Days in Marseilles, to get acquainted with all Persons of Merit; and the Moment thou art arrived in Constantinople, let me hear from thee, and from 'facob Brito.

Adieu, dear Monceca; may the God of our Fathers shower down his choicest Blessings upon

Thee.

Grand Cairo, the

END OF THE JEWISH SPY.



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